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THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

WITH

Translation and Explanatory Notes

BY

S. D. JOSHI

AND

J. A. F. ROODBERGEN

VOLUME I

(1.1.1–1.1.75)

SAHITYA AKADEMI

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Deccan College
September 30, 1991.

S. D. Joshi
J. A. F. Roodbergen

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J. A. F. Roodbergen

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PREFACE

When we started the *Mahābhāṣya*-project in 1967—eleven volumes have been printed so far, the last volume being *Sthānivadbhāvāhnika*, Part 1, published in 1990, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—, our idea was that we would be able to understand Pāṇini better through studying Patañjali. But we have come to the conclusion that, apart from introducing a great deal of extraneous matter, especially from Mīmāṃsā sources, in the interpretation of the Pāṇini-sūtras, Patañjali is often at a loss, how to construe Pāṇini's intention. Therefore Patañjali's opinions can never replace our independent judgment regarding the interpretation of Pāṇini, especially in the matter of *anuvṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, and of coflict-solving procedures. Patañjali can only act as a guide to be critically followed, not as the final authority regarding the interpretation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. We have also come to the conclusion that to some extent, the *Kāśikāvṛtti* has preserved an authentic Pāṇinian tradition, independent of and different from the one followed by and established by Patañjali and his grammatical sources.

These and similar considerations have led us to terminate our *Mahābhāṣya* project. The last volume in this project will be *Sthānivadbhāvāhnika*, Part II, the manuscript of which was ready for publication in 1989. We have decided to undertake a new project, namely, the translation and critical explanation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It will differ greatly from the translations published by Böhtlingk, S. C. Vasu and Renou, and from the recent works by S. M. Katre (1987) and R. N. Sharma (Volume II, 1990). We hereby offer the first instalment, the translation and explanation of *adhyāya* 1, *pāda* 1.

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INTRODUCTION

I. The present edition and explanation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

Why publish another edition of the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (henceforth referred to as *A.*) and another translation ? The short answer is that the present work differs from the rest in at least seven respects, as follows :

(1) Attention is paid to the interpretation of the multi-purpose particle *ca* in Pāṇini's *sūtras*. This has a direct bearing on the division of the rules, and, therefore, on their interpretation.

(2) The conventions of *anuvṛtti* and *nivṛtti* of rules or parts of rules have been systematically applied. This also has a direct bearing on the interpretation of the rules.

(3) On the basis of (1) and (2) an attempt is made to identify interpolations and historical layers in the text of the *A.* as presented by the *KV* and followed by all Indian and Western editors.

(4) Examples for rules are checked wherever possible against attested usage outside grammatical literature. Here the work done by the Deccan College Sanskrit Dictionary project proved to be very useful.

(5) As regards conflict-solving procedures adopted in the *A.* tradition has both confused and multiplied conventions (*paribhāṣās*). This led to the phrasing of exceptions and counter-exceptions to the point that nearly anything goes, somewhat like what happened to Marxist doctrine. In the present work these procedures have been re-defined and provided with a clear domain of their own. They have also been simplified. Both the re-definition and the simplification have been carried out on the basis of a strict interpretation of the *A.* itself.

(6) In the interpretation of the *A.*, apart from the *Mahābhāṣya*, importance has been attached to examples transmitted by the *KV*, different from those provided by Patañjali, and which may provide a clue as to the authentic meaning of a *Pāṇinisūtra*.

(7) Whenever tradition has manifestly re-interpreted a rule to accommodate usage, this has been pointed out.

One of the distinctive features of the *A.* is its treatment of accent. In fact, this treatment is very detailed. For instance, P. 6.1.181 says that in the *bhāṣā*, the language used for non-ritual purposes by the *śiṣṭas* 'learned

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brahmins' of Pāṇini's days the prefinal vowel of particular endings of particular numerals should rather not be pronounced with high pitch. This raises the question whether, apart from marking section-heading rules by means of a particular accent (P. 1.3.11), Pāṇini had originally composed his text as an accented text, although sūtra-texts are handed down to us without accent-markings. Our assumption is that it was such an accented text. We hope to deal with this question in a separate publication. In the meantime, in the present work, the *Pāṇinisūtras* have been stated without accent.

The *A.* is preceded by a peculiar arrangement of the Sanskrit speech-sounds in 14 *sūtras* generally known as the *Śivasūtras*. The arrangement is such that from these *sūtras* comprehensive, abbreviative names of groups of these speechsounds can be formed – *pratyāhāras* – of which Pāṇini makes extensive use in the formulation of his grammatical *sūtras*. The knowledge of these Śivasūtras is presupposed by Pāṇini. Generally, it is accepted that the study of phonetics (*śikṣā*) is required before the student of grammar starts on the study of grammar proper (*vyākaraṇa*).

In the present work the *Śivasūtras* have not been included. The question of translation does not arise. As regards the working of these *sūtras* we have nothing new to contribute. We refer to the articles on the *Śivasūtras* listed above, on which we cannot improve at this stage.

II. Pāṇini, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the language called Sanskrit, and the character of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

A. Pāṇini

Pāṇini's historical existence is generally accepted. According to tradition he hails from a place in the Northwest of the subcontinent, now in Pakistan His date is a vexed question. Our assumption is, around 550 B. C., which makes him a slightly older contemporary of the Buddha.

It is certain that Pāṇini took his place in a line of grammarians and teachers of Sanskrit. He is known to have mentioned ten predecessors by name. It goes without saying that he must have borrowed a considerable quantity of material, whether literally or in a modified form. But all this cannot hide his originality as a system-builder, his amazing ability to formulate a comprehensive grammatical system.

B. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

If it is accepted that Pāṇini was the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the sense that he invented and developed the grammatical system on

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which the *A.* is based, the question may be asked whether Pāṇini was the author of the *A.* as we know it. This question is to be decided on the basis of inconsistencies in the present text of the *A.* Our assumption is that Pāṇini was not the author of the *A.* in the form in which we know it. Rules have been interpolated. There is evidence that whole sections have been added (*taddhita* and *samāsa*). And finally, it is doubtful whether the rules dealing with the Vedic language formed part of the original body of rules.

Then of what might be the original body of rules devised by Pāṇini as a grammatical system consist? In any case, there must have been such rules as will account for the formation of words and their meaningful combination in sentence or wordgroup. In our view, such a minimal body of grammatical rules must contain a section on *saṃjñās* 'technical names/terms' and *paribhāṣās* 'grammatical conventions', a *kāraka*–section dealing with the case–subsystem of language, a *kṛt*–section describing primary noun–formation directly from verbal bases, a *strīpratyaya*–section on the formation of feminine words, an *aṅga*–section containing rules regarding the form of the (verbal or nominal) stem before suffixes, a section dealing with accent, both word–accent and sentence tone contour, and a *sandhi*–section. It is reasonable to suppose that in this latter section a division was introduced between a part of the *A.* known as *siddhakāṇḍa* and a part known as *asiddhakāṇḍa*.

Traditionally, the *A.* is taken to consist of a *sūtrapāṭha*, the actual body of rules, a *dhātupāṭha* and a *gaṇapāṭha*. The *dhātupāṭha* is a collection of verbal bases, ordered according to conjugation classes, with subgroups. In the version of the *dhātupāṭha* known to us the verbal bases have been provided with a short meaning–explanatory gloss. The *gaṇapāṭha* is a collection of lists of nominal bases each of which comes under a particular rule of the *sūtrapāṭha*. Usually, these lists have a name, consisting of the first base listed, followed by the word *ādi* or *prabhṛti* 'beginning with'.

Pāṇini's authorship of the *dhātupāṭha*, but without the meaning–explanatory gloss, is generally accepted. Whether Pāṇini was also the author of the *gaṇapāṭha* is not certain.

The *sūtrapāṭha* is traditonally introduced by an enumeration of the Sanskrit speechsounds ordered, according to grammatical requirements, in sets of speechsounds, fourteen in all. These sets are usually known as *Śivasūtras*. Another name, indicative of the purpose for which they were used, is *pratyāhārasūtras*. That is to say, they serve to make *pratyāhāras* 'abbreviative

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designations' for sequences of speechsounds. Forty one *pratyāhāras* are utilized by Pāṇini in the *sūtrapāṭha*.

The *A.* does not deal with phonetics or phonology as a part of grammar, but assumes that this is known to the student. Pāṇini partly phrases his own phonetic and phonological terms, partly borrows them from earlier treatises on the subject, known as *śikṣā* and *prātiśākhya*.

A basic rule in the *A.* is P. 3.1.91. It lays down that the suffixes introduced thereafter up to the beginning of the fourth *adhyāya* serve to derive nominal bases from verbal bases. However, Pāṇini leaves a number of nominal bases underived. We know of an early controversy in Sanskrit grammar connected with the names of Śakaṭāyana and Gārgya. Here the first held that all nouns are derivable – somehow – from verbal bases, whereas Gārgya denied this. Thus, in this respect, Pāṇini and Gārgya agree. But in three rules of the present text of the A. (P. 3.3.1–2; P. 3.4.75) mention is made of a collection of suffixes which precisely serve to derive etymologically non-transparent words from verbal bases. This collection is known under the name of *uṇādisūtras*, that is, the rules introducing suffixes starting with the suffix *uṆ*. Since these *sūtras* in the form in which we know them borrow Pāṇini's technique at every step, and since the point of view taken by these *sūtras* is incompatible with Pāṇini's principles of word-derivation, we assume first, that the *uṇādisūtras* as we know them have been composed after Pāṇini, and that, secondly, the references to these *sūtras* made in the *A.* are interpolations. Why would they have been interpolated at all ? Our guess is, because in this way, by overlooking the basic contradiction, Pāṇini's system could be made more inclusive, a trend noticed in other fields of Indian thought also.

Why would Pāṇini have composed the *A.* ? Obviously, scholarly interest may be one reason. Concern for the purity of the language is another. Then was this in danger ? The question is discussed by Patañjali in the *Paspaśāhnika*, in the section dealing with the uses of grammar, and in the section dealing with the topic of knowledge versus use (see *PASPA*, *Bh.* Nos. 23–24, and *Bh.* No. 119). In the first section reference is made to the use of *mleccha* words by brahmins, which is severely condemned. *Mleccha* language is said to be *apaśabda* 'corrupt speech'. Here reference is to the use of Prakrits or of a prakritised Sanskrit. In the second section, the context is one of ritual and of the correct use of Sanskrit in this context. Mention is made of ancient sages who spoke incorrect Sanskrit outside the ritual context, but were very particular about using the correct forms at the time of sacrifice. The same

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preoccupation with the correct use of words while performing a ceremony can be observed among twentieth century brahmins who advised their students to use the the masculine form *eteṣām* when performing the *śrāddha*–ceremony for the *pitṛtrayī* 'the three fathers – father, grandfather and great–grandfather– (male line)', but the feminine form *etāsām* when performing the *śrāddha*–ceremony for the *mātṛtrayī* 'the three mothers– mother, grandmother and great–grandmother– (female line)'. Similarly, when offering *piṇḍas*, one had to use the dative ending. But when the brahmin in charge of the ceremony because of his defective knowledge of Sanskrit was in doubt about the exact form, he was advised to add *–dāya* after the name of a male, and *–dāyai* after the name of a female.

From what Patañjali tells us we conclude that, long before, the use of correct Sanskrit was threatened, by the intrusion of the Prakrit languages spoken by the common man. It is agreed that the use of the Prakrits was promoted by the spread of Buddhism. But probably more was involved here than merely the use of correct Sanskrit. It may be supposed that what was at stake was dominating position of the brahmins in society, for whom the correct use of Sanskrit was an identity feature. Returning again to Pāṇini, we assume that his concern to codify and preserve was inspired to a large extent by what he must have conceived as the onslaught of the Prakrits, which were, after all, the living languages of the northern part of the subcontinent, learnt at home and spoken by the people at large.

C. The name *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

Aṣṭādhyāyī literally means 'collection of eight *adhyāyas*' (P. 2.1.51-52; 4.1.22). An *adhyāya* is a portion of a work for teaching or studying. As the title of Pāṇini's work it was known to Patañjali who uses it four times in succession in a well–known passage in the *Mbh*. (III, p. 174, lines 10–15). Here the question is asked, what is the use of the *A*., if eventually the *śiṣṭas* 'learned brahmins' are our authority with regard to words and usage ? The answer is, *śiṣṭajñānārthāṣṭādhyāyī* 'the purpose of the *A*., is to find out who are *śiṣṭas* (and who are not)'. See *PASPA*, p. 142.

The *KV* on P. 5.1.58 mentions the expression *aṣṭakaṃ pāṇinīyam* 'the work comprising eight *adhyāyas* composed by Pāṇini' apparently as an alternative title.

D. The language

For us the significance of the *A*. apart from being "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence" (L. Bloomfield, *Language*, New

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York 1933, p. 11), consists in this that by codifying the usage of the *śiṣṭas* of his days in the way he did Pāṇini provides us with the precise knowledge of an old Indo-Aryan language. To quote Bloomfield again, " No other language to this day, has been so perfectly described ", (ibid. p. 11). Bloomfield's opinion still holds good.

The language was called *saṃskṛta* (Sanskrit) later on. It is first referred to as *saṃskṛtā vāk* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.28.18. Here Hanumān reflects that, if he were to use the *saṃskṛtā vāk*, as if he were a *dvija*, Sītā might be frightened, thinking that he was Rāvaṇa. The passage is also indicative of the close association between Sanskrit and brahmins.

The name *saṃskṛta* is not based on an ethnic name, like French, or on a geographical name, like Panjabī. It literally means 'that to which an extra quality has been added'. In connection with the language meant, *saṃskṛta* assumes the meaning 'refined'. That is to say, processed according to the peculiar derivational procedure adopted and developed by Pāṇini. A related social notion is that of 'cultured'.

Pāṇini himself does not use the name *saṃskṛta* for the language analysed and codified by him. He calls it simply *bhāṣā* 'speech', by which he means standard speech. He differentiates it in two ways. First, from another type of speech used exclusively during ritual performances which he calls *chandas*. Within this *chandas* Pāṇini notes varieties, *ṛc*, *yajus*, *sāman*, *mantra*, *nigama* and *brāhmaṇa*. Secondly, from substandard usage within the *bhāṣā*, which he calls *vibhāṣā* 'deviant speech'.

As a whole, the *A.* deals with the speech called *bhāṣā*. Vedic peculiarities merely form an appendage. This is clear from the relatively small number of rules dealing with Vedic matter, from their usually unspecific and often sweeping formulation– the expression *bahulaṃ chandasi* is typical–, and from a difference in the application of these rules. Kātyāyana (*Vt.* I on P. 1.1.6) indicates this difference by saying *dṛṣṭānuvidhitvāc ca cchandasaḥ* 'and because with regard to *chandas* rules are applied following (the form) observed (in usage)', but not by strictly following the rules, irrespective of the outcome. This difference in formulation and rule-application, in combination with other facts, leads us to assume that the rules dealing with *chandas* come from a different source and have been incorporated in the *A.* by a later redactor, in the period between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

In a number of *sūtras* in the present text of the *A.* reference is made to regional differences within the *bhāṣā*. The differences are indicated by the

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genitive words *prācām* 'of the easterners' and *udīcām* 'of the northerners'. Supply : *deśe* in the region' (compare P. 1.1.75).

In all, the present text of the *A.* contains twenty references to word-formations typical of the region of the easterners, and seven references to word-formations typical of the region of the northerners. Is that sufficient to warrant the use of the name 'dialect' in this context ?

Let us divide the references into (1) the easterners, and (2) the northerners, and subdivide each of them into a. *taddhita*-rules and b. non-*taddhita* rules.

(1) a.

P. 2.4.60; 4.2.76; 4.2.120; 4.2.123; 4.2.139; 5.3.80; 5.3.94; 5.4.101

Here one rule deals with the name of a descendant; four rules deal with place names or derivations from place names; one rule deals with hypocoristic forms of personal names; one rule derives the forms *ekatara* / *ekatama*; and one rule prescribes a compound name for a unit of measurement.

(1) b.

P. 1.1.75; 3.1.90; 3.4.18; 4.1.17; 4.1.43; 4.1.160; 6.2.74; 6.2.99; 6.3.10; 7.3.14; 7.3.24; 8.2.86

Here one rule introduces the technical name *vṛddha*; one rule prescribes the use of *parasmaipada* endings after two verbal bases; one rule prescribes the use of *alam* / *khalu* in combination with a *Ktvā* form to convey the sense of prohibition; three rules prescribe feminine names; five rules deal with other names (a game, place name, name of a tax); one rule deals with vowel-quantity in two situations.

(2) a.

P. 4.1.130; 4.1.153; 4.1.157

All three rules deal with names of *gotra* descendants.

(2) b.

P. 3.4.19; 6.2.89; 6.3.32; 7.3.46

Here one rule prescribes the use of *alam* / *khalu* in combination with a *Ktvā* form to convey the sense of reciprocity; one rule deals with the accentuation of a place name; one rule introduces the form *mātarapitarau* (next to *mātāpitarau*), and one rule allows the ending *akā* (next to *ikā*).

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Out of the total of 27 rules, 19 deal with names. The breakdown is as follows : 8 rules for personal names (descendants, etc.), 3 rules for place names, and 3 rules for other names. How much dialectical difference is involved here ? Names and patterns of names are notoriously different within a language. The remaining 8 rules deal with other differences which are minimal. The only ground for speaking of dialects here is the fact that the differences noted are connected with a geographical distribution, however vague the notions of of *prācām* and *udīcām* may be. But seeiug the differences noted, the mere fact of a geographical distribution is not sufficient to warrant the use of the term 'dialect' here. This still apart from the question who exactly are these easterners and northerners. It seems highly plausible that the people referred to are *śiṣṭas* again, a rather small group within the population as a whole, and even within the brahmin community. It follows that the distinction between *prācām* and *udīcām* cannot serve as an argument to prove that Pāṇini's *bhāṣā* was a spoken, living language like other spoken, living languages possessing dialects.

But what about pitch ? Since Pāṇini describes it in detail, isn't that sufficient proof that the *bhāṣā* (Sanskrit) was a spoken, living language ? Two questions are involved here, (1) if spoken, then where and when, and for how long and by whom, and (2) what do we mean by a spoken language ?

Unfortunately, none of the questions mentioned under (1) can be answered with even an approximation of scholarly precision. On the subcontinent, after the coming of the *āryas* in the course of the second millennium B. C., whether in waves or in driblets, the area of their settlement expanded from the Punjab to the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and beyond. Later, this area, bounded by the Himālayas in the North and by the Vindhya mountains in the South, was traditionally known as *āryāvarta* 'the region where the *āryas* circulate / move about'. As regards the time in which the early settlement took place, the period between 1400 and 700 B. C, seems a reasonable assumption.

At the language, languages and dialects spoken by these early settlers we can only guess (see Wackernagel I, 1896, Einleitung, p. xvii–xviii). The most we can say is that there must have been sufficient variation to allow for the development of Vedic, for that of Sanskrit, and for that of the Prakrit languages. The period of time elapsed between the early phases of settlement and the later and last phases of this process is sufficiently great to warrant a considerable change of speaking habits within the community, or rather the

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communities scattered over so large an area, sufficiently great even for the early evolution of a highly poetic, cultic language as used in the Ṛgveda.

As far as we can infer from the documents preserved, the Vedas and the language called *saṃskṛta* have been associated with a particular group within the Aryan community, namely, the brahmins. They have been, of old, entrusted with the preservation and teaching of the Vedas, and with the performance of rituals including public sacrifice. Moreover, for them Sanskrit has become a status–symbol, a distinctive feature of their caste. But what does this imply ?

How Sanskrit originated, or for that matter, how the brahmins originated, we do not know. In the case of Sanskrit, as in any other language, we may assume a long process of linguistic selection, on the basis of an older language. But, the brahmins being given and Sanskrit being given, do we assume that Sanskrit was any brahmin's native tongue, acquired at home and only afterwards studied at school with a teacher ? Let us consider this question from the point of view of levels of knowledge first.

In the case of the Vedas and that of the performance of public ritual and ceremony the difference in levels of knowledge is clear. Some know, some perform and others do not, and perhaps some know and perform better than others. Some are professionals, others are not. As regards Sanskrit and the knowledge of Sanskrit, the case cannot have been much different. The first distinction to be made here is that between learned brahmins, the *śiṣṭas*, proficient in the *śāstras* and teachers of *śāstras*, on the one hand, and non–learned brahmins on the other. Here the latter brahmins are the *aśiṣṭas*. They form the *loka* in the sense of common brahmins, non–specialists and non–teachers, not proficient in the Vedas nor in the *śāstras*. Then, even among the *śiṣṭas*, there must have been a difference between specialists of the language, the *vaiyākaraṇas*, and the others who were specialists in other fields of learning.

It is known that every brahmin boy, from a young age onwards, received instruction in Sanskrit from his teacher, in the teacher's house. We may therefore suppose that every adult brahmin male, having spent a number of years in the *gurukula*, had sufficient fluency in spoken Sanskrit to converse with other brahmins in this language, whether in a ritual situation, or outside. That brings us to the other question, namely, what do we mean by a spoken language ?

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It is clear that in any child's learning of a language the mother plays an important role. But what we know in general of a brahmin girl's training in Sanskrit, or rather the lack of it, makes us doubt whether even in these early days the mother in a brahmin household was able to transmit Sanskrit as her spoken language to the child. For all we know, she spoke a prakrit language, although she may have picked up Sanskrit expressions, and although some brahmin women were fluent in Sanskrit. Prakrit may also have been the language used in a brahmin's house for daily life purposes. That, again, might help to explain the intrusion of a series of retroflexed sounds upon Sanskrit. It is a reasonable assumption that the Dravidian substratum worked more strongly in the prakrits than in Sanskrit, a rather protected language. From the prakrit used at home these retroflexed sounds may have come to stay in Sanskrit also.

The usage known from Sanskrit drama of a much later period that lower class people and women speak a Prakrit language may be taken to reflect an earlier life-situation, and be projected backwards in time. But if this is correct, where does that leave the concept of Sanskrit as a spoken language ?

Here it is important to distinguish between a spoken language learnt at home as one's native tongue, and a spoken language learnt at school, but not necessarily used at home also. As far as our evidence goes, Sanskrit was never a spoken language in the first sense. Rather, it was a language transmitted by the school, spoken, taught and learnt, pitch and all, at school, much like Latin throughout the Middle Ages. It was a language forcefully kept alive by an equally forceful institution, the school. This must also have been the language which Pāṇini, naturally basing himself upon the usage of the *śiṣṭas*, codified and fixed once for all, to be transmitted, again, by the school. We therefore are in complete agreement with J. Wackernagel, 1896, Einleitung, p. xxii) who nearly 100 years ago expressed the view that already in Vedic times Sanskrit was not a natural language any more, but a caste language transmitted by the school (" keine naturwüchsige Sprache ... sondern eine schulmässig vererbte Standessprache ").

It was from the school that the knowledge of Sanskrit was spread among the brahmin community and became the literary language for which it is famous. Consequently, the questions, for how long did Sanskrit last as a spoken language, and when did it cease to be so, and the other question of a development of Sanskrit between Pāṇini and Patañjali, are easily misleading. The question is rather that of the origination and the continuation

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of a particular school-system. Seen from this point of view, the questions, for how long, and when will it cease, can be answered by saying that Sanskrit will last as a spoken language, as long as it is taught as such, at school, and that, as everybody knows, has come to an end.

E. The character of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

The *A.* is based on the previous, detailed analysis of the language called *saṃskṛta*, as used by the *śiṣṭas* regarded as standard speakers. Formal grammatical concepts resulting from the analysis are verbal base (*dhātu*), nominal base (*prātipadika*), pre-suffixal stem (*aṅga*), suffix (in the wide sense *pratyaya*) conjugation class sign (*vikaraṇa*) and augment (*āgama*). On the other hand, the word, the wordgroup and the sentence are accepted as data of language.

Different functions are assigned to suffixes. One of these functions, assigned to a particular class of suffixes, the case endings, is to determine the syntactic relationships which hold between a verb and a noun, or between a noun and a noun in a sentence or wordgroup, for which Sanskrit uses the same expression, namely, *vākya*. In the *A.* these relationships, which form a grammatical subsystem, come under two headings, *kārake* 'when x becomes instrumental (in bringing about an action)' and *śeṣe* 'when the sense of a remaining (relationship, not specified so far) is to be conveyed' (P. 1.4.23; 2.3.50). The *A.* does not provide a sentence-definition. The first definitions in this respect originate from a later grammarian, Kātyāyana.

The *A.* is an ingenious device, a *yantra*, designed to reproduce the language of the *śiṣṭas* in a step-by-step rule-governed method. In fact, the *A.* may be regarded as an algorithm, a problem-solving procedure. The problem each time is the derivation of word ready for use in a sentence. That is why traditionally the *A.* is termed *śabdānuśāsana* 'instruction in (the derivation of correct Sanskrit) words'. The *A.* works by recombining, synthesizing, integrating grammatical elements, obtained from analysis, on different successive levels, from the syntactic level to the phonological representation of the word in its finished form. Theoretically, the impulse which sets the whole process in motion is the intention of the speaker (*vivakṣā*) to communicate, by means of language, a meaning to the listener.

Since it reproduces standard speech, the *A.* is a prescriptive grammar. It states the rules which must be applied, if the speaker wants to convey meaning in a grammatically correct form. It is also a generative grammar, in

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two senses. First in this (Chomskyan) sense that in the process of derivation the wordform is fully described. Secondly, in the sense that, with the help of a limited number of rules (about 4000), and with the help of the *dhātupāṭha* and *gaṇapāṭha*, which provide the basic lexical elements, the *A.* is able to produce an infinite number of words, and thus, an infinite number of sentences.

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AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

1. Adhyāya 1

1.1. Pāda 1

1.1.1 VṚDDHIR ĀDAIC '*ā*, *ai* and *au* (are called) *vṛddhi*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra* which introduces and defines a technical name. The *saṃjñin* 'item thus named' is *ādaic* and here comes after the *saṃjñā*, against Pāṇini's practice (*Mbh.* I, p. 40, line 9). According to Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 40, lines 5–9), the order adopted here is for the sake of good luck (*maṅgala*). But there are other rules also in which the *saṃjñā* comes first, e. g., P. 1.2.41. Another explanation is that metrical considerations played a part in the formulation of P. 1.1.1. Together, this rule and P. 1.1.2 form the second *pāda* of an *anuṣṭubh* metre.

2. Technical names and *paribhāṣās* are not restricted to the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* section of the *A.*, but are applicable throughout. This is an exception to P. 8.2.1, *pūrvatrāsiddham*.

3. Terms used in the nominative in Pāṇini's rules represent either the topic (*uddeśya*) or the predicate (*vidheya*). The topic is the item known about which something is affirmed or denied. The predicate is that which is affirmed or denied. Compare Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 48. Thus, in the present rule *ādaic*, which is the *saṃjñin*, is also the *uddeśya*, whereas *vṛddhiḥ*, which is the *saṃjñā*, is also the *vidheya*.

4. *Vṛddhi* literally means 'increase', see Allen, 1953, p. 13. It is the technical name given to the vowels and diphthongs mentioned.

5. The addition of *T* (*āT–aiC*) after a vowel serves to restrict the vowel–quantity to the one mentioned (P. 1.1.70). In the *A.* long vowels are usually followed by *T*. In the present case, the addition of *T* also serves the purpose of *asaṃdeha* 'non–ambiguity'. That is to say, here the *T* serves to counter the effect of sandhi.

6. The form *aiC* is a *pratyāhāra* 'comprehensive designation'. It covers the diphthongs *ai* and *au*. The final *C* is an *anubandha* 'tag–letter', which is capitalized to distinguish it from linguistic elements. It does not form part of the sounds included in the *pratyāhāra*. The rule prescribing the formation of *pratyāhāras* is P. 1.1.71.

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7. By P. 1.1.3 the term *vṛddhi* applies to the substitutes of *iK*– vowels (*i, u, ṛ*– there are no examples for *ḷ*).

For instance,

nī– 'to lead', *nai* + *ay* + *a* + *ti* → *nāyayati* 'he causes to lead' (P. 6.1.78).

bhū– 'to become', *bhau* + *ay* + *a* + *ti* → *bhāvayati* 'he causes to become' (P. 6.1.78).

kṛ– 'to do', *kārayati* 'he causes to do' (P. 1.1.51).

8. A technical name like *saṃprasāraṇa* (P. 1.1.45) applies only when the speech sound concerned is actually produced by applying the term *saṃprasāraṇa*. But the name *vṛddhi* applies to any *ā, ai* or *au*, whether original or produced by applying the term *vṛddhi*.

For instance,

Śālā 'hall'. Here the *ā* is not the result of a substitution caused by the application of the name *vṛddhi*. Still, this *ā* is called *vṛddhi*. Since the first *ā* of *śālā* receives this designation, the word *śālā* as a whole is called *vṛddha* (P. 1.1.74).

9. Does P. 1.1.1 consist of two or of three words? According to the *Nyāsa* (on the *KV* on this rule), there are some who think that P. 1.1.1 consists of three words, *vṛddhiḥ, āt* and *aic*. This opinion is wrong. If *āt* and *aic* were separate words, the correct Pāṇinian expression would have been *vṛddhir āt aic ca*, to indicate that the name *vṛddhi* applies to both *āt* and *aic*. Moreover, the expression would have to be read as two *sūtras*, see Joshi–Bhate, 1983, p. 32, 34.

But, in fact, *ādaic* is a *dvandva* cp. The use of a *dvandva* cp. in the *A*. indicates that the items stated are each separately connected with a common element. In the present rule the common element is expressed by *vṛddhiḥ*. Accordingly, both *āt* and *aic* are called *vṛddhi*. See Joshi–Bhate, 1983, p. 10, 49.

10. Pāṇini's *sūtra* – language differs from ordinary, literary Skt in this that the rules followed in this type of Skt are not necessarily applied to the *sūtra*–language also. In literary Skt a *samāhāradvandva* ending in – c takes the *samāsānta* – suffix *ṬaC* (P. 5.4.106). For instance, *vaktvācam* 'the aggregate of voice and skin'. But this rule is not applied to *ādaic*. An important reason for not applying Pāṇini's own rules to his own *sūtra*–language is the concern to keep the expression clear and unambiguous. See sub (4).

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1.1.2 ADEṄ GUṆAḤ '(short) *a*, *e* and *o* (are called) *guṇa*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin*, which comes first, is *adeṅ*.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items have been discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

The *uddeśya* is *adeṅ*, the *vidheya* is *guṇaḥ*.

3. *Guṇa* literally means 'secondary quality'. See Allen, 1953, p. 13. In the present rule it is the technical name (*saṃjñā*) given to the vowels mentioned.

4. The form *aT* stands for the short vowel *a* only, according to the convention stated by P. 1.1.70. See under 1.1.1, note 5.

5. The form *eṄ* is a *pratyāhāra* formed by P. 1.1.71. It covers the vowels *e* and *o*. For the role of *Ṅ* see under 1.1.1, note 6.

6. By P. 1.1.3 the term *guṇa* applies to substitutes of *iK*– vowels, with the exception of *ḷ*. Pāṇini's original form of the verbal base quoted as *kḷp*– is *kṛpṺ* (*Dhātup.* 1.799). Here, after the stage *karpati* has been derived, *ḷ* is substituted for *r*, by P. 8.2.18.

For instance,

nī– 'to lead', *ne* + *a* + *ti* → *nayati* 'he leads' (P. 6.1.78)

bhū– 'to become' *bho* + *a* + *ti* → *bhavati* 'he becomes' (P. 6.1.78)

sṛ– 'to flow', *sarati* 'it flows' (P. 1.1.51)

7. The name *guṇa* also applies to those vowels *a*, *e* and *o*, which are not the result of substitution.

For instance,

bho + *a* + *anti*,

vand + *a* + *e*.

In this stage P. 6.1.97 becomes applicable, which is conditioned by the term *guṇe* 'when a *guṇa* vowel follows'. The *guṇa* vowel which follows is, in fact, the *a* of *anti* in the first example, and the *e* in the second example. The resulting forms are *bhavanti* 'they become' and *vande* 'I salute'.

1.1.3 IKO GUṆAVṚDDHĪ '(the vowels and diphthongs called) *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are substituted for *iK* (–vowels)'.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, that is, a rule laying down a grammatical convention which is helpful in interpreting other rules. See further *SA*, Note

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(6) for the essentials. Other examples of *pbs* are P. 1.1.49, 1.1.66 and 1.1.67 which lay down the technical meanings of the genitive, locative and ablative case endings in the *A.*

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and a new *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271. The *uddeśya* is *guṇavṛddhī*, the *vidheya* is *ikaḥ*.

3. As stated by the *KV*, the present rule serves to impose a restriction with regard to the original vowels which are replaced by *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. The original vowels are *iK*– vowels only.

4. P. 1.1.3 applies only when the *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitution has been enjoined by the use of the terms *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in a rule, whether directly or on account of *anuvṛtti*. For instance, in P. 7.3.84 the term *guṇaḥ* is continued from P. 7.3.82. The rule P. 7.3.84 prescribes *guṇa* substitution for the vowel of a stem which is followed by a particular suffix. This being so, we know, from P. 1.1.3, that the vowel to be replaced must be an *iK*– vowel.

On the other hand, P. 7.2.102 prescribes the substitution of *a* (a *guṇa* vowel) for the final of the pronominal bases *tyad*, etc. Here the term *guṇa* is not used. Therefore the obligation to replace an *iK*– vowel, by P. 1.1.3, does not hold. Accordingly, the *a* becomes the substitute for a final consonant.

5. The term *iK* is a *pratyāhāra* ' comprehensive designation ' covering the vowels *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ*. However, *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitutes for *ḷ* are not known. For the role of *K* see 1.1.1 under (5).

Technical terms in the *A.* are declined like ordinary Skt words. The form *ikaḥ* is a sg. genitive. According to P. 1.1.49, the technical meaning of the genitive ending is *sthāne* ' in the place of '. That which comes in the place of something else is called *ādeśa* ' substitute ', whereas the original item which is to be replaced is called *sthānin*.

6. The form *guṇavṛddhī* is an *itaretaradvandva* cp. used in the dual. The constituents of a *dvandva* cp. can never be continued or discontinued singly. See *PN*, *pb*. XVII.

7. Instances of *guṇa* – replacement are not known from the *taddhita*– section of the *A.*, with the exception of P. 6.4.164. But instances of *vṛddhi* in this section are frequent, and not restricted to *iK*– vowels only. E. g. *āśvalāyana* ' *gotra* – descendant of Aśvala ' (P. 4.1.99), *aikāgārika* ' thief ' (P. 5.1.113), *aujasika* ' vigorous ' (P. 4.4.27).

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8. Couldn't Pāṇini have phrased the sequence 1.1.1– 3 diferently? We have assumed that the term *guṇa* in 1.1.2 cancels the term *vṛddhi* introduced in 1.1.1. Now suppose that *guṇa* is continued in 1.1.3, and that this rule is rephrased, with one rule being added, as follows:

1. *vṛddhir ādaic*
2. *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
3. *ikaḥ*
4. *vṛddhiś ca.*

The difficulty here is that although *guṇaḥ* is continued in 3, and *ikaḥ* is continued in 4, because there is no incompatible item cancelling either of them, *guṇa* will be cancelled in 4 by the incompatible item *vṛddhi*. As a result, in the following rule 5– which is actually P. 1.1.4– the item *vṛddhi* will be continued, but not *guṇa*. However, in P. 1.1.4 we want the continuation of both. That is why Pāṇini has combined *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in a *dvandva* cp.

1.1.4 NA DHĀTULOPE ĀRDHADHĀTUKE '(*guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are) not (allowed), when an *ārdhadhātuka* (suffix) follows which causes deletion of a verbal base'.

1. The present rule states an exception to P. 1.1.3. It says that P. 1.1.3 does not apply, when an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix follows which causes *lopa* of a verbal base. This could be taken to imply that, in the absence of the restriction (*ikaḥ*) in P. 1.1.3, *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* by P. 1.1.4 could apply to vowels and consonants indiscriminately. This, of course, is not the intention. What is desired is a prohibition of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, not of P. 1.1.3.

2. In the present rule, the whole previous rule, P. 1.1.3, is continued.

3. As stated by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* here, since there is no point in prohibiting *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in connection with a verbal base, when the whole of this base has been deleted, it is assumed, on the strength of the phrasing of the prohibition (*pratiṣedhavidhānasāmarthyāt*) that the constituent *dhātu* in *dhātulope* must be interpreted in the sense of *dhātvekadeśa* 'part of the verbal base'.

What is understood by *dhātu* has been defined by P. 1.3.1 and 3.1.32 mainly. What is understood by *ārdhadhātuka* has been defined by P. 3.4.114.

4. Tradition as represented by the *KV* takes *dhātulope* as a *bv.* cp. qualifying *ārdhadhātuke*. Accordingly, *dhātulopaḥ* is explained to mean *dhātor lopaḥ yasminn* sc. *ārdhadhātuke* 'before which *ārdhadhātuka* suffix deletion of

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(part of) a verbal base takes place'. This again is interpreted to mean *ārdhadhātukanimittaḥ dhātor lopaḥ* 'deletion of (part of) a verbal base caused / conditioned by an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix'. Why the *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of *dhātulope* ("when deletion of (part of) a verbal base takes place") fails is explained by the *Nyāsa* with the help of the example *knopayati* 'he makes wet' borrowed from Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 51, lines 7 and 12). The argument is as follows. In the derivational stage *knūy + ṗUK + ay + a + ti* (*ṗUK*– *āgama* by P. 7.3.36) the *y* of *knūy* is deleted by P. 6.1.66, which is conditioned by *vali* 'when a *vaL*– consonant follows'. The *ṗ* (of *ṗUK*) is a *vaL*– consonant. Now the question comes whether we can apply P. 7.3.86 for *guṇa*, resulting in *kno + ṗ + ay + a + ti*. P. 7.3.86 is conditioned by *ārdhadhātuke* (continued from P. 7.3.84). The next question is whether *ṗ* is an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix. If it is, the prohibition of *guṇa* by P. 1.1.4 will apply. If it is not, we can have *guṇa*, as is desired.

Now suppose that we interpret *dhātulope* as a *tp.* cp. In that case P. 1.1.4 means that *guṇa* is prohibited when deletion of (part of) a verbal base takes place. Since in *knū* part of the base has been deleted, *guṇa* is prohibited. That gives us *knūpayati*, which is not desired. On the other hand, if we interpret *dhātulope* as a *bv.* cp., P. 1.1.4 means that *guṇa* is prohibited, when deletion of (part of) a verbal base takes place which is caused by an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix. However, in *knū + ṗ + ay + a + ti* the deletion of the *y* of *knūy* is caused by *ṗ* which is *vaL*, but not an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix. Therefore, the prohibition by P. 1.1.4 does not apply. We can have *guṇa*, and derive the form *knopayati*, as desired. That is why the *bahuvrīhi*–interpretation of *dhātulope* is to be preferred.

5. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *loluva* 'one who frequently mows', *popuva* 'one who frequently cleans', *marīmṛja* 'one who frequently rubs', borrowed from Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 52, line 25).

A. Derivation of *loluva*.

(1)	*lūṄ*	*Dhātup.* 9.13
(2)	*lū + yaṄ*	P. 3.1.22
(3)	*lū + lū + ya*	P. 6.1.9
(4)	*lo + lū + ya*	P. 7.4.82
(5)	*lo + lū + ya + aC*	P. 3.1.134
(6)	*lo + lū + 0 + a*	P. 2.4.74
(7)	*lo + luv + a*	P. 6.4.77
	loluva.	

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In stage (6) *guṇa*, prescribed by P. 7.3.84, is prohibited by P. 1.1.4. Therefore P. 6.4.77 can apply.

B. Derivation of *marīmṛja*.

(1)	*mṛjA*	*Dhātup.* 1.269
(2)	*mṛj* + *yaṄ*	P. 3.1.22
(3)	*mṛj* + *mṛj* + *ya*	P. 6.1.9
(4)	*marī* + *mṛj* + *ya*	P. 7.4.90
(5)	*marī* + *mṛj* + *ya* + *aC*	P. 3.1.134
(6)	*marī* + *mṛj* + 0 + *a*	P. 2.4.74
	marīmṛja.	

In stage (6) *vṛddhi*, prescribed by P. 7.2.112, is prohibited by P. 1.1.4.

C. Derivation of *roravīti* 'he roars frequently'.

(1)	*ru*	*Dhātup.* 2.24
(2)	*ru* + *yaṄ*	P. 3.1.22
(3)	*ru* + *ru* + *ya*	P. 6.1.9
(4)	*ro* + *ru* + *ya*	P. 7.4.82
(5)	*ro* + *ru* + *ya* + *laṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(6)	*ro* + *ru* + *ya* + *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(7)	*ro* + *ru* + *ya* + *ŚaP* + *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(8)	*ro* + *ru* + *ya* + *a* + *īṬ* + *ti*	P. 7.3.94
(9)	*ro* + *ru* + 0 + *a* + *ī* + *ti*	P. 2.4.74
(10)	*ro* + *ru* + 0 + *ī* + *ti*	*gaṇasūtra* under No. 71 in *ādadayaḥ* (*carkarītaṃ ca*)
(11)	*ro* + *ro* + *ī* + *ti*	P. 7.3.84
(12)	*ro* + *rav* + *ī* + *ti*	P. 6.1.78
	roravīti.	

This is a counter-example. Since the finite verb ending *i* + *ti* is called *sārvadhātuka* (P. 3.4.113), the prohibition by P. 1.1.4 cannot become applicable. Therefore, in stage (11) *guṇa* is applied, which leads to the desired form.

6. Note that P. 1.1.4 generally applies in the derivation of Vedic (*chāndasa*) words. Still, the term *chandasi* 'in the Veda' is not used in the rule.

7. Since *pāda* 1.1 is devoted to *saṃjñās* and *paribhāṣās*, this is not the place to introduce a prohibition. Logically speaking, P. 1.1.4 belongs to the context of P. 7.3.84.

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1.1.5 KṄITI CA 'also, (*guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are not allowed) before (a suffix) containing (the *anubandha* 'tag letter') *K* or *Ṅ*.

1. The word *ca* in the present rule marks the boundary with P. 1.1.4, see Joshi– Bhate, 1983, p. 32–35. By saying 'also before (a suffix containing) *K* or *Ṅ*' the preceding statement is marked off as a separate rule. Otherwise, if *ca* had not been used, one might think that P. 1.1.4–5 forms one single rule, in which *ṅiti* functions as the qualifier of *ārdhadhātuke*.

2. In P. 1.1.5 the words *dhātulope* and *ārdhadhātuke* from P. 1.1.4 are discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya* 'the force of the formulation itself of the rule'. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 45–47. The point is that otherwise P. 1.1.5 would be redundant, because P. 1.1.4 can take care of the examples quoted for P. 1.1.5.

3. For the continuation of *na* in the present rule see Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 112, 115 and 125.

4. For provisional information regarding *anubandhas* see under 1.1.1 (5).

5. Traditionally, *ṅiti* is interpreted as a *nimittasaptamī* 'locative case ending indicating the cause/condition'. Accordingly, P. 1.1.5 would prohibit *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* when caused by a following *Kit* or *Ṅit* suffix. The reason for this interpretation lies in a difficulty regarding the derivation of forms like *bhinna* 'broken'. After *Kta* has been added to *bhid–* (P. 3.2.102) we derive *bhin* + *na* by P. 8.2.42. *Kta* is a *Kit*–suffix so it comes under the purview of P. 1.1.5. Here, if *ṅiti* is taken as a *parasaptamī* 'locative case ending indicating that the grammatical operation concerned is conditioned by an immediately following element', the prohibition by P. 1.1.5 would not apply, because the vowel *i* in *bhin* is not immediately followed by the *Kit*–suffix. Therefore P. 7.3.86 would apply, leading us to derive the form *bhen–na*. This is not desired. That is why tradition prefers to take *ṅiti* as a *nimittasaptamī*. But in grammar intervention by one element does not form an obstacle for an operation to take place (*Mbh.* III, p. 324, line 11, *yena nāvyavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite 'pi vacanaprāmāṇyāt* 'even if that (item) comes in between which necessarily comes in between (and which cannot be avoided), (the operation takes place) because otherwise the rule cannot become effective at all'). Therefore the difficulty can be taken care of, and *parasaptamī* can be accepted.

6. Examples for the prohibition of *guṇa* : *kṛ* + *Kta* (P. 3.2.102). Here *guṇa* becomes applicable by P. 7.3.84. It is prohibited by the present rule : *dviṣ* + *tas* (P. 3.4.78). Here *guṇa* becomes applicable by P. 7.3.86. It is

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prohibited by the present rule. Note that the finite verb ending *tas* is *Ṅit* 'containing (the *anubandha*) *Ṅ*' by P. 1.2.4.

Examples for the prohibition of *vṛddhi* : *mṛj* + *Kta*. Here *vṛddhi* becomes applicable by P. 7.2.114 (as an exception to P. 7.3.84). It is prohibited by the present rule : *mṛj* + *tas*. The same argument applies.

7. P. 1.1.3–5 are applicable in connection with verb suffixes (*tiṄ* and *vikaraṇa*) and *kṛt* suffixes only. But in the *taddhita*–section *vṛddhi* is specially allowed before *Kit*–suffixes by P. 7.2.118. Thus, in the *A*. as we have it two mutually exclusive functions are assigned to one and the same *anubandha K*. This is just one indication which may lead us to conclude that the *taddhita*–section of the *A*. comes from a different source.

1.1.6 DĪDHĪVEVĪṬĀṂ CA 'also, (*guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are not allowed) in connection with (the verbal bases) *dīdhī*– 'to shine' and *vevī*– 'to go', and with (the augment) *iṬ*'.

1. Kātyāyana (*Vt*. I on P. 1.1.6) points out that *dīdhī*– and *vevī*– are Vedic forms. And in the derivation of Vedic forms we apply rules seeing the form as it appears in usage, that is, not by strictly applying the rules (*dṛṣṭānuvidhitvāc ca cchandasaḥ*). Therefore Kātyāyana thinks that P. 1.1.6 is not required, as far as *dīdhī*– and *vevī*– are concerned.

Rules dealing with *chandas* may be considered to be a later addition to the text of the *A*. See Joshi– Roodbergen, 1983, p. 73.

2. Reference is to the augment *iṬ* prescribed by P. 7.2.35 for an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix not beginning with *y*. But the statement of *iṬ* is not required either. See under 1.1.65, note 4.

3. One of the examples quoted for *dīdhī*– by the *KV* and taken from the *Mbh* is *ādidhyaka* 'one who shines'. It is derived as follows :

(1)	*dīdhī*	*Dhātup* 2.67
(2)	*ā* + *dīdhī*	
(3)	*ā* + *dīdhī* + *ṆvuL*	P. 3.1.133
(4)	*ā* + *dīdhī* + *aka*	P. 7.1.1
(5)	*ā* + *dīdhy* + *aka*	P. 6.4.82

In stage (4) *vṛddhi* becomes applicable to the final *ī* of *dīdhī* by P. 7.2.115. It is prohibited by the present rule.

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4. An example for *iṬ*, not found in the *KV* on the present rule is *bhavitā* 'he will become'. It is derived as follows :

(1) *bhū*–		
(2) *bhū* + *lUṬ*		P. 3.3.15
(3) *bhū* + *tiP*		P. 3.4.78
(4) *bhū* + *Dā*		P. 2.4.85
(5) *bhū* + *tāsĪ* + *ā*		P. 3.1.33
(6) *bhū* + *iṬ* + *ṭās* + *ā*		P. 7.2.35
(7) *bho* + *i* + *tās* + *ā*		P. 7.3.84
(8) *bhav* + *i* + *tās* + *ā*		P. 6.1.78
(9) *bhav* + *i* + *t* + *ā*		P. 6.4.155
bhavitā.		

Here, in stage (9), according to tradition, *guṇa* becomes applicable by P. 7.3.86 to the *i* (*iṬ*) of the *aṅga* 'presuffixal stem' which is *laghūpadha* 'containing a short vowel'– *bhavit*. But this is not desired. Tradition invokes the present rule to prohibit *guṇa* here.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the rule (P. 2.4.85) prescribing the formation of the periphrastic future may not have formed part of the original body of rules of the *A*. The fact is that it has been put at the very end of a *pāda*, without any connection with what precedes and follows.

Another example for *iṬ* quoted by Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 56, line 11) is *araṇiṣam* 'I moved'. It is derived as follows :

(1) *raṇA*–		*Dhātup* 1.832 (*gatau*)
(2) *raṇ* + *lUṄ*		P. 3.2.110
(3) *a* + *raṇ* + *lUṄ*		P. 6.4.71
(4) *a* + *raṇ* + *Cli* + *lUṄ*		P. 3.1.43
(5) *a* + *raṇ* + *sīC* + *lUṄ*		P. 3.1.44
(6) *a* + *raṇ* + *iṬ* + *s* + *lUṄ*		P. 7.2.35
(7) *a* + *raṇ* + *i* + *s* + *miP*		P. 3.4.78
(8) *a* + *raṇ* + *i* + *s* + *am*		P. 3.4.101
(9) *a* + *raṇ* + *i* + *ṣ* + *am*		P. 8.3.59
araṇiṣam.		

Here, in stage (8), according to tradition, *guṇa* becomes applicable by P. 7.3.86 to the *i* of the *laghūpadha aṅga raṇis*. This is not desired. Tradition invokes the present rule to prohibit *guṇa* here.

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For a detailed discussion of the question why the statement of *iṬ* is not required in the present rule see under P. 1.1.65 note 4. Stated briefly, the reason is that *iṬ* in the examples *bhavitā* and *araṇiṣam* is not an *aupadeśika* element. Therefore P. 7.3.86 cannot be applied. Consequently, we don't need P. 1.1.6 to prohibit it.

5. Even then it may be asked whether P. 1.1.6 did form part of the original body of rules. It may be noted that, according to the Böhtlingk text, this rule contains the word *ca*. This particle, apart from fulfilling functions required by the system of the *A*. itself, is also a handy device to insert rules. See Joshi– Bhate, 1983, p. 36–37, 55. The *ca* used in P. 1.1.6 is redundant from the point of view of *anuvṛtti*. Therefore it may be assumed that this rule has been added later on from a different source.

If *ca* is dropped from P. 1.1.6, couldn't we combine this rule with the previous rule *ṅiti ca* ? In that case the meaning of the combined rule would be that, before a *kit* or a *Ṅit* suffix *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are not allowed for *dīdhīvevī*– or *iṬ*. But this combined rule is to be rejected on the ground of *sāmarthya*. It would make the *anubandhas K* and *Ṅ* added in connection with other verbal bases than *dīdhī*– and *vevī*– (like in the bases mentioned by P. 3.2. 171, 172, 174) redundant.

1.1.7 HALO 'NANTARĀḤ SAṂYOGAḤ ' consonants in immediate succession are (called) *saṃyoga* " consonant group " '.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* ' item thus named ' is mentioned first.

2. *Anuvṛtti* of items from the preceding rules like *guṇavṛddhī* or *na* does not take place, because in P. 1.1.7 a new topic (*uddeśya* = *saṃjñin* = *halo 'nantarāḥ*) and a new predicate (*vidheya* = *saṃjñā* = *saṃyogaḥ*) are introduced. Therefore the previous (incompatible) items are cancelled. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. Usually, in Pāṇini's order of words, the adjective comes before the substantive. Then why the phrasing *halo'nantarāḥ* ? One consideration is that in the actual phrasing of the rule one syllable is saved in comparison with the phrasing *anantarā halaḥ*. Another consideration might be that of rhythm, as defined by the sequence of long and short syllables.

4. As a convincing example of *saṃyoga* the *KV* quotes the sentence *tilān stry āvapati* ' the woman sows sesamum seeds '.

The counter– example quoted to show the purpose of the word *anantarāḥ* ' (consonants) in immediate succession ' is *pacati panasam* ' he cooks

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a bread-fruit'. Here, if the name *saṃyoga* did not apply to consonants in immediate succession, the sequence *s...m* in *panasam* might be called *saṃyoga*. The consequence would be that P. 8.2.29 would become applicable. That would lead to the deletion of the *s*, which is not desired.

Another example is *styāna* 'grown thick, coagulated', derived from the verbal base *styai-*. Here P. 8.2.43 is applied for the substitution of *n* after a verbal base which ends in *ā* (P. 6.1.45) and which begins with a consonant group (*saṃyogādi*).

5. Patañjali (*Bhāṣya* on *Vt.* I on P. 1.1.7) discusses the question whether the name *saṃyoga* could also apply to each of the constituents of the consonant group. The answer is, no. A minimum of two consecutive consonants is required. This is also clear from Pāṇini's use of the plural *anantarāḥ halaḥ* in P. 1.1.7.

One example. In the stage *bhū* + *yās* + *s* + *tam* the *s* immediately before *tam* is deleted by P. 8.2.29, which contains the term *saṃyoga*. In the present case, this term applies to the group *s* + *t* within the larger group *s* + *s* + *t*.

6. Why did Pāṇini define relatively easy concepts like *saṃyoga*, *anunāsika*, but not the more complicated ones lika *visarga*, *anusvāra* ? The answer is that Pāṇini defines those concepts which he regards as basic in his *upadeśa*. For instance, the term *saṃyoga* occurs in P. 8.2.43, *anunāsika* in P. 1.3.2. But *visarga* and *anusvāra* are only regarded as substituties for something else. We do not find original conditions like *anusvārānta* 'ending with *anusvāra*' or *visargānta* 'ending with *visarga*' in Pāṇini's rules.

1.1.8 MUKHANĀSIKĀVACANO 'NUNĀSIKAḤ '(a speechsound) spoken (both) through the mouth and the nose is (called) *anunāsika* '.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *mukhānunāsikavacana* and it is mentioned first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. Sanskrit knows nasalized vowels (P. 1.3.2; P. 6.1.126 and P. 8.3.2 for nasalized *ā* only; P. 8.4.57 for nasalized *a*, *i*, *u*), nasalized semivowels (*Vt.* I on P. 8.3.26; in this *Vt.* *yavalāḥ* must represent nasalized varieties), and nasal consonants.

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4. Nasalized vowels are not indicated in the present text of the *A.*, although they have a technical function (P. 1.3.2). The present text is practically the text as known to Patañjali. From Patañjali onwards, regarding the nasality of vowels in the *A.*, only guesses are available.

5. In tradition the question is raised, how to justify the form *mukhanāsikā* in the present *sūtra*. By P. 2.4.2 a *dvandva* referring to limbs should be used in the sg., that is, the neuter sg. That gives us *mukhanāsikam* and the further cp. *mukhanāsikavacana*.

According to tradition, in order to have the form used by Pāṇini, we should derive the cp. as follows: *mukhaṃ ca nāsikā ca, mukhanāsikam; mukhanāsikaṃ āvacanaṃ yasya, mukhanāsikāvacana*. Thus in *mukhanāsikā-vacana* the long *ā* is the result of *praśleṣasandhi*.

Against this, it may be pointed out that Pāṇini's rules do not necessarily apply to his technical language (*upadeśa*). Pāṇini may prefer to keep an original form for the sake of clarity.

6. As regards the linguistic expression used, we may divide the *A.* into a fully technical part and a mixed non-technical ordinary language part. Meaning conditions are always put in the latter type of linguistic expression. For instance, *karmaṇy aṇ* (P. 3.2.1) and *er ac* (P. 3.3.56) are fully technical expressions, whereas *vartamāne laṭ* (P. 3.2.123) and *parokṣe liṭ* (P. 3.2.115) belong to the mixed type.

1.1.9 TULYĀSYAPRAYATNAṂ SAVARṆAM ' (a pair of speechsounds) which has the same articulatory effort in the mouth is (called) *savarṇa* " class-related " (with regard to each other) '.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is mentioned first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. *Āsyaprayatna* taken in the sense of ' (articulatory) effort in the mouth ' involves both an articulatory (*karaṇa*) and a place of articuation (*sthāna*).

4. Sanskrit phonetics makes a distinction between *ābhyantaraprayatna* ' intra-oral articulatory effort ' and *bāhyaprayatna* ' extra-oral articulatory effort '. Compare, for instance, *Mbh.* I, p. 61, lines 14-19; Allen, 1953, p. 22. Here the first takes care of the actual production of speechsounds and the relative opening or closure of the air passage in the mouth. The second is responsible

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for additional feaures of speechsounds which come through the activity of organs located in and below the throat. As such features the *Mbh.* (I, p. 61, lines 15–16) lists eight : *vivāra– saṃvāra, śvāsa– nāda, ghoṣavat– aghoṣatā* and *alpaprāṇatā-mahāprāṇatā*. The first three pairs are all of them concerned with the difference between voiced and unvoiced, whether from the point of view of the position of the organs (vocal chords), the auditory impression (buzzing or not), the acoustic quality (voiced or not). The fourth pair is concerned with the force of the expiration which may result in aspiration or in a hissing sound, or their absence.

5. Kātyāyana's idea was that *āsyaprayatna* only included the *ābhyantaraprayatna* in the sense of the relative opening or closure of the air passage in the mouth, but not the *sthāna* ' place of articulation '. Therefore he proposed (*Vt.* I, on P. 1.1.9) to change the rule and read it as *āsye tulyadeśaprayatnaṃ savarṇam* ' (a pair of speechsounds) which has the same place of articulation and articulatory effort in the mouth is (called) *savarṇa* (with regard to each other) '. Here *deśa* stands for *sthāna* and *prayatna* for *ābhyantaraprayatna*.

Patañjali rejects Kātyāyana's proposal. He reinterprets the rule. First he is of the opinion that the term *āsya* used in P. 1.1.9 is a *taddhita*– form derived in the sense of *āsye bhavam* ' located in the mouth ' (*Mbh.* I, p. 61, line 25), as follows :

(1)	*āsya* + *yaT*	P. 5.1.6
(2)	*āsy* + *ya*	P. 6.4.148
(3)	*ās* + *ya*	P. 8.4.64
	āsya.	

What is located in the mouth is both *sthāna* and *karaṇa*. Thus *tulyāsyaprayatna* is eventually analysed as a *bv.* built upon a *tp.* cp., as follows : in the sense of *āsye prayatnaḥ* ' articulatory effort regarding what is located in the mouth ' we derive *āsyaprayatnaḥ*. In the sense of *tulya āsyaprayatna eṣām* ' those (speechsounds) have a similar articulatory effort regarding what is located in the mouth ' we derive *tulyāsyaprayatnaḥ* (*Mbh.* I, p. 62, line 14).

In our view, the correct *vigraha* ' analysis ' of the cp. is as follows : in the sense of *āsye prayatnaḥ* ' articulatory effort in the mouth ' we derive *āsyaprayatnaḥ*. Here *sthāna* and *ābhyantaraprayatna* are both included. Then a *bv.* is formed by adding *tulya*.

The *KV* first mentions the *taddhita*–interpretation of the term *āsya* as assumed by Patañjali, and then adopts Patañjali's final *vigraha*.

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6. Some examples : (a) *rāmā asti* ' Rāmā is there ', (b) *nadī iti* ' the word *nadī* ', (c) *ud* + *sthita* → *utthita* ' risen '. In (a) and (b), since long *ā* and short *a* and long *ī* and short *i* are both mutually *savarṇa*, we can apply P. 6.1.101. They are *savarṇa*, because they agree in *sthāna* (respectively *kaṇṭha* ' throat ' and *tālu* ' palate ') and in *prayatna* (namely, *vivṛta* ' relatively open '). As regards (c), P. 8.4.61 says that the *s* of *sthā*, when preceded by *ud*, is to be replaced by a *savarṇa* sound of *d*. Actually, the *d* has five class-related speechsounds. Out of these the *th* is selected, because like the original *s*, the th is *aghoṣa* ' unvoiced ' and *mahāprāṇa* ' accompanied by a strong breath '. This gives us *ut* + *ththita*. Here the *th* in the middle is deleted by P. 8.4.65.

A counter-example is *tarptā* ' one who satisfies '. Here the *p* is not deleted by P. 8.4.65, because this rule contains the condition *savarṇe* ' when a class-related speechsound follows '. But *p* and *t* are not class-related. Although both *spṛṣṭa* ' a stop (caused by maximum closure of the air passage in the mouth) ', they differ in *sthāna*.

1.1.10. NĀCJHALAU ' a vowel and a consonant are not (called *savarṇa* ' homogeneous ' with regard to each other) '.

1. This rule is an exception to P. 1.1.9. The two rules together define the concept of *sāvarṇya* ' homogeneity ' of speechsounds.

2. The term *savarṇa* is continued from P. 1.1.9, and then denied by *na*. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 119. The incompatible *uddeśya ajjhalau* cancels *tulyāsyaprayatnam* from the preceding rule.

3. Both *aC* and *haL* are *pratyāhāras* ' comprehensive dasignations ' standing for any vowel or dipthong and any consonant respectively.

4. Consequences of applying the name *savarṇa* to a vowel and a consonant are pointed out by the *KV* with the help of four examples :

(a) *daṇḍahastaḥ* ' having a stick in his hand ' (P. 2.2.35). Here, if *a* and *h* were termed *savarṇa*, P. 6.1.101 would apply leading us to derive the form *daṇḍāstaḥ*.

(b) *dadhiśītam* ' cold like curds ' (sg. nom. ntr.) (P. 2.1.55). Here if *i* and *ś* were termed *savarṇa*, P. 6.1.101 would apply leading us to derive the form *dadhītam*.

(c) *vaipāśo matsyaḥ* ' a fish living in the Vipāś '. Here, if *i* and *ś* were termed *savarṇa*, we would derive as follows :

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(1)	(*vipāś* + *Ṅi*) + *aṄ*	P. 4.3.53
(2)	(*vipāś* + 0) + *a*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*vaipāś* + *a*	P. 7.2.115
(4)	*vaipa* 0 + *a*	P. 6.4.148
(5)	*vaip* 0 + *a*	P. 6.4.148
	vaipa.	

(d) *ānaḍuhaṃ carma* 'the skin of an ox'. Here, if *a* and *h* were termed *savarṇa*, we would derive as follows :

(1)	(*anaḍuh* + *Ṅi*) + *aÑ*	P. 4.3.154
(2)	(*anaḍuh* + 0) + *a*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*ānaḍuh* + *a*	P. 7.2.115
(4)	*anaḍu* 0 + *a*	P. 6.4.148
(5)	*anaḍo* + *a*	P. 6.4.146
(6)	*anaḍav* + *a*	P. 6.1.78
	anaḍava.	

Another counter-example, mentioned by the *Padamañjarī* (*KV*, Vol. I, p. 105) is *kumārī śete* 'the girl sleeps'. Here, if *i* and *ś* were termed *savarṇa*, P. 6.1.77 would apply leading us to derive the expression *kumāry śete*.

5. Kātyāyana (*Vt.* III on P. 1.1.10) has rejected the present rule on the ground that articulatory effort of vowels is in any case different from that of consonants. Vowels are *vivṛta* 'open', whereas, for instance, *ś* and *h*, which are called *ūṣman* 'fricative' (Allen, 1953, p. 26) are *īṣadvivṛta* 'slightly open'. So why phrase a separate rule to say that vowels and consonants are not *savarṇa* ?

6. What was stated under 1.1.4 (5) applies here also. Moreover, since the *A.* does not provide information about details of phonetics, one may wonder whether P. 1.1.10 formed part of the original body of rules at all.

7. For the question of the application of P. 1.1.69 to P. 1.1.10 see under 1.1.69.

1.1.11 ĪDŪDEDDVIVACANAṂ PRAGṚHYAM 'the dual endings *ī*, *ū* and *e* (are called) *pragṛhya*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *īdūdeddvicanam*, and it is mentioned first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 271 convention 4.

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3. For the use of *T* see under 1.1.1, note 5. The technical name *dvivacana* is introduced in P. 1.4.102 for a group of finite verb endings and a group of case endings.

4. *Pragṛhya* is a pre–Paninian technical term. It is an *anvartha–saṃjñā* 'name which is etymologically significant' (*Mbh.* I, p. 378, line 17), also called a *mahatī saṃjñā* 'a lengthy designation'. Literally *pragṛhya* means 'to be separated' i. e., to be kept separate in pronunciation, not subject to sandhi.

5. According to *Vt.* I, on P. 1.4.14 (compare *PN*, *pb.* 27), the *tadanta-vidhi* (P. 1.1.72) is not applied in a *saṃjñā*–rule which mentions suffixes.

Therefore, in the present rule, the $\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{u}$, *e* should refer to their own form only, not to a form ending in $\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{u}$, or *e*. But the difficulty is that these endings never occur by themselves. They are always part of a wordform. Therefore P. 1.1.11 can only make sense, if *īdūdeddvivacanam* is interpreted as *īdūdeddvivacanāntam* '(a form) ending in the dual endings $\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{u}$ or *e*'. We note that the dual ending *au* is not included.

6. Some examples: (a) *agnī iti* 'the word *agnī* "the two fires"', (b) *gurū adhyāpayataḥ* 'the two teachers teach', (c) *kanye āgate* 'the two girls have come', (d) *pacete iti* 'the word *pacete* "the two of them cook"'. In (a) P. 6.1.101 is not applied, in (b) P. 6.1.77 is not applied, in (c) and (d) P. 6.1.78 is not applied. The prohibitory rule is P. 6.1.125. 1.1.11 is the first rule of a subsection dealing with *pragṛhya* which goes up to P. 1.1.19. Here five rules out of a total of eight are clearly Vedic rules. They are, however, not marked as such by the word *chandasi*.

7. The question may be asked, why have these rules been put here? Since they deal with sandhi, their appropriate place is a section dealing with sandhi, for instance, near P. 6.1.126 which contains the word *chandasi*.

8. *Pragṛhya* being a Vedic phenomenon, spreading from the dual nominal ending *e* (Wackernagel, para. 270. b; 273. a), the question may be asked why it has been declared obligatory in classical also. In epic Sanskrit *pragṛhya* is often not observed.

9. Another question is, how *pragṛhya* has been declared obligatory in Sanskrit also. Our assumption is, by simply taking away the word *chandasi* in the rule heading the subsection dealing with *pragṛhya*, or by taking away the subsection as a whole from the place where it had been originally inserted under a rule containing the word *chandasi*.

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1.1.12 ADASO MĀT '(the endings *ī*, *ū*, *e* coming) after the *m* of (the pronominal stem) *adas* 'this/that over there' (are called *pragṛhya*)'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *adaso māt* (*īdūdet*), and comes first. The *saṃjñā* is *pragṛhya*.

The *uddeśya* is *adaso māt*. The *vidheya* is identical with the *saṃjñā*.

2. The term *dvivacanam* from P. 1.1.11 is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 45–47. The point is that, if *dvivacana* were continued in P. 1.1.12, this rule would not make sense.

3. The terms continued from P. 1.1.11 are *īdūdet* and *pragṛhya*. However, for *e* there is no example, whereas the ending *ū* can be taken care of by P. 1.1.11. Therefore *īdūdet* is a case of over-application. The only example is *ī*, a plural ending which is treated like the dual ending *ī* by analogy (Wackernagel, para. 270. b). An example: *amī īśāḥ* 'those lords'. Here P. 6.1.101 does not apply. The prohibitory rule is P. 6.1.125.

4. The present position of P. 1.1.12 is that of a *sapāda-saptādhyāyī* rule. But the rules dealing with *adas* (P. 8.2.80–81) are *tripādī* rules. So one might argue that the partly substitute endings *mu* and *mi* of *adas* are *asiddha* as far as P. 1.1.12 is concerned. That is to say, P. 1.1.12 cannot really admit an *m* in *adas* (*Vt.* I on P. 1.1.12). The traditional solution of this difficulty is to appeal to *sāmarthya* (*Vt.* II, on P. 1.1.12, *vacanārtha*). Since otherwise P. 1.1.12 would be redundant, we have to assume that *mu* and *mi* of *adas* are somehow known to P. 1.1.12. Thus *sāmarthya* overrules *asiddhatva*.

Actually, *asiddhatva* does not hold in connection with a *saṃjñā*- or *paribhāṣā-sūtra*. For instance, P. 1.1.49, 66–67 have validity in the *tripādī* also.

1.1.13 ŚE '(The suffix) *Śe* (is called *pragṛhya*)'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* only has been mentioned.

2. The words *adaso māt* from P. 1.1.12 have been discontinued by the incompatible item *Śe*. The *saṃjñā pragṛhya* is continued from P. 1.1.11.

3. The suffix *Śe* is a specifically Vedic pronominal ending. It is prescribed by P. 7.1.39 as a substitute for case endings in general.

4. The examples quoted by the *KV* are of pronouns only: *yuṣme*, *asme*, *tve* and *me*. Here *yuṣme* is a pl. locative, *asme* a pl. dative, whereas *tve* and *me* may be sg. datives. Two Vedic expressions are quoted, *na yuṣmé vājabandhavaḥ* 'not (find fault) with you, companions in the booty' (*ṚgV.* 8.68.19) and *asme indrabṛhaspatī* 'to us, o Indra and Bṛhaspati' (*ṚgV.* 4.49.4).

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The only useful example is the latter because here only the question of sandhi arises.

5. According to Wackernagel, para. 273. a, *tve* is a sg. loc. 'in you', which is originally *pragṛhya*. The forms *asme* and *yuṣme*, on the other hand, are *pragṛhya* by analogy as assumed by the redactors of the *saṃhitāpāṭha* and of the *padapāṭha*.

1.1.14 NIPĀTA EKĀJ ANĀṄ 'a *nipāta* which consists of one single vowel, with the exception of *āṄ* (is called *pragṛhya*)'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *nipāta ekāj anāṅ*. This is also the *uddeśya*. The *saṃjñā*, which is also the *vidheya*, is *pragṛhya*.

2. The word *Śe* from the previous rule is discontinued by the incompatible item *nipāta ekāj anāṅ*. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. What is called *nipāta* is defined by way of enumeration under the section heading *nipāta*, by P. 1.4.56–97. The defining characteristic of a *nipāta* is a negative one, namely, that it does not refer to an individual entity (*asattva*, P. 1.4.57–58). Generally, *nipātas* are adverbial particles, prepositions and interjections. Technically, *nipātas* are called *prātipadika* by P. 1.2.45. Therefore, by P. 4.1.1 case endings are added, although they cannot be *kāraka* 'instrumental (in bringing about an action)'. The endings are deleted again by P. 2.4.82.

The word *ekāc* can be analysed as a *bahuvrīhi* in the sense of *eko'j asmin* 'which contains one single vowel', or as a *karmadhāraya* or *samānādhikaraṇa tatpuruṣa* cp. (P. 1.4.42) in the sense of *eko'c* 'a single vowel'. Patañjali opts for the latter possibility (*Mbh.* I, p. 70, lines 13–15). So also the *KV* which puts the analysis as *ekaś cāsāv ac ca* 'that which is at the same time a single one and a vowel'.

The question could have been decided by accent, if the *A.* was still recited as an accented text. A *bv.* has the accent on the first syllable (P. 6.2.1), so the *e* would have been accented. A *karmadhāraya* has the accent on the final syllable (P. 6.1.223), so *kāc* would have been accented.

The word *ekāc* is used in the sense of a *bv.* cp. in P. 6.1.1.

4. The particle *ā* as a *karmapravacanīya* (P. 1.4.83–97) is always noted down as *āṄ*. It is used in four meanings as stated by a *kārikā* (*Mbh.* I, p. 71, line 6). This particle *ā* is not called *pragṛhya*. An example is *ā* + *eti* which gives us *aiti* 'he comes near' (P. 6.1.89). But when used as an interjection, *ā* is *pragṛhya*. The two examples quoted by the *Mbh.* (I, p. 71, line 4) are

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ā evaṃ nu manyase 'o, do you really think so?' and *ā evaṃ kila tad* 'ah, such indeed that (was)'. Here P. 6.1.88 is not applied.

5. In Pāṇini's *sūtras* scope for applying sandhi is generally provided. Therefore Pāṇini will not probably phrase the rule as *ekāj anāṅ nipātaḥ*. In the actual phrasing the *visarga* of *nipātaḥ* is deleted.

6. The word *Śe* from the previous rule is discontinued by the incompatible expression *nipāta ekāj anāṅ*.

7. It is not known whether, apart from the use of *svarita* to indicate an *adhikāra* (P. 1.3.11), the text of the *A.* was accented. But since Pāṇini is the only author to describe the (pitch) accent in detail, it could be assumed that the text of the *A.* was accented.

1.1.15 OT '(a *nipāta* ending in) *o* (is called *pragṛhya*)'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *ot*.

2. The term *nipāta* is continued from the previous rule, since there is nothing to cancel it. That gives us the expression *on nipātaḥ*. Here *ot* functions as the qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) of *nipāta*, which therefore is the item qualified (*viśeṣya*). This being so, we apply the *tadantavidhi* (P. 1.1.72). Consequently, *ot* is interpreted as *odantaḥ* 'ending in *o*'.

3. For the *T* added after *o* see under 1.1.1, note 5.

4. The examples quoted by the *KV* are *aho iti* 'the word *aho*' and *utāho iti* 'the word *utāho*'. *Aho* is an interjection, whereas *utāho* is an interrogative particle used in expressions meaning 'whether–or'. In the examples P. 6.1.78 is not applied. Further examples in Wackernagel, para. 273 b.

5. The words *ekāj anāṅ* from P. 1.1.14 are discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. The point is that otherwise P. 1.1.15 would have no examples, since they could have been taken care of by the previous rule.

6. Why not take *nipāta ekāj anāṅ ot* as one single rule? The answer, because that does not make sense. *Ot* is naturally *ekāc*, and it can be always *anāṅ*.

1.1.16 (A) SAṂBUDDAU ŚĀKALYASYA '(an *o*) caused by (the technical name) *saṃbuddhi* (is called *pragṛhya* according to the opinion) of Śākalya'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is (*ot*) *saṃbuddhau śākalyasya*. The *vidheya* is again *pragṛhyam*.

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2. Reference is to P. 7.3.108. This rule prescribes the substitution of a *guṇa*–vowel for short *u* in the case of *saṃbuddhi*. *Saṃbuddhi* is the technical name of the nominative ending, singular, when the question is of addressing somebody (P. 2.3.48–49).

3. Tradition takes *saṃbuddhau śākalyasyetāv anārṣe* as one rule, and interprets it to mean that, according to Śākalya, an *o* caused by the technical name *saṃbuddhi* is called *pragṛhya* before *iti* in the *padapāṭha*. But since there is no apparent reason why Pāṇini should phrase a rule concerning the *padapāṭha*, and since it may be assumed that names of grammarians always occur at the end of a rule, it seems preferable to split the traditional rule into two rules, P. 1.1.16 (A), and P. 1.1.16 (B).

4. The *KV* on P. 1.1.16 interprets *saṃbuddhau* as a *nimittasaptamī* ' locative ending indicating a cause / condition (of a grammatical operation) '. Unlike a *parasaptamī*, a *nimittasaptamī* does not require the immediate sequence of the elements concerned, nor the presence of the following element as conditions for applying a grammatical operation.

Consider the example *he trapo iti*. If *saṃbuddhau* in P. 1.1.16 were taken as a *parasaptamī*, the rule would mean that when the element called *saṃbuddhi* (i. e., the sg. nominative case ending used to address somebody or something) follows immediately (after a given element), the *o* (obtained by P. 7.3.108) is called *pragṛhya*. But in *he trapo iti* the element called *saṃbuddhi* has been *luk*–deleted by P. 7.1.23. So it is simply not there. Consequently, we connot apply P. 1.1.16. But this is not desired. We do want the name *pragṛhya* for the *o* of *trapo*. That is why *saṃbuddhau* in P. 1.1.16 is interpreted as a *nimittasaptamī*.

5. According to *Nirukta* 6.28, one Śākalya was the author of the *padapāṭha* of the *Ṛgveda*. The name Śākalya is mentioned four times in the *A.*, always in connection with points of phonetics. Patañjali (*Mbh.* II, p. 210, lines 7–8) derives the name *Śākalāḥ* in the sense of *śākalyasya cchātrāḥ* ' The pupils 0f Śākalya '. The Śākalas gave their name to the version of the *Ṛgveda* known best to us.

6. The mention of a grammarian's name in a *sūtra* is traditionally taken to indicate optionality (*vibhāṣārtham* ' for the sake of option ', *KV* on the present rule).

7. What could be the example or examples for the rule in the form assumed here ? The only example available at present is *adhvaryo adribhiḥ*

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sūtam 'o *adhvaryu*! (pour the *soma*) pressed with stones (on the sieve)' (*Ṛgv.* 9.51.1).

8. It may be asked, why not take *ot saṃbuddhau śākalyasya* as a single rule? We have no answer to that question. If taken as a separate rule, the better wording of P. 1.1.16. (A) would have been *saṃbuddhau ca śākalyasya*.

9. As regards *anuvṛtti*, the word *ot* is continued from P. 1.1.15. But the word *nipāta*, itself continued in P. 1.1.15 is cancelled on the basis of *sāmarthya*. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 47.

1.1.16 (B) ITĀV ANĀRṢE 'when a non–Vedic *iti* follows immediately (an *o* caused by the technical name *saṃbuddhi* is called *pragṛhya*)'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is (*ot saṃbuddhau*) *itāv anārṣe*.

2. According to Wackernagel, (para. 273 b), the treatment of the *o* of the sg. vocative is only found in some passages of the *Taittirīya–Saṃhitā*. On the basis of this sporadic treatment of the *padapāṭhas* – except those of the *Sāmaveda*– use *iti* behind the vocatives concerned. Apparently, the present rule sanctions the usage of the *padapāṭhas*. But, as stated under P. 1.1.16 A. (1), it is absolutely not clear why Pāṇini should phrase a rule concerning a *padapāṭha*– usage. It is therefore assumed that, in any case, P. 1.1.16 B is an interpolated rule.

Names of grammarians are not continued in the *A.*, unless *ca* is used. On the other hand, *ot* and *saṃbuddhau* are continued from P. 1.1.15 and P. 1.1.16 A, since there is nothing to cancel these items.

1.1.17–18 *UÑAḤ ŪṄ* '(when a non–Vedic *iti* follows immediately, long nasalized) *ū̃* is substituted for *uÑ*'.

1. This is a rule prescribing substitution (*ādeśa*), which, in the present context, is totally out of place.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* (*uñaḥ*) and a new *vidheya* (*ū̃*) the previous subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. Reference is to the Vedic particle *u* which has been provided with the *anubandha Ñ* (compare P. 8.3.21), presumably to keep this *u* distinct, and to the *padapāṭha* usage to note this particle *u* as *ūm iti*, with lengthening and nasalization. See Wackernagel, para. 270 b, (Anm., and para. 259 b).

4. As noted under P. 1.1.16 B. (4), by Pāṇinian practice, the name *śākalyasya* is not continued.

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5. Kātyāyana (*Vts* I and II on the present rule) proposed to split the rule (*yogavibhāga*). He then read a separate rule (P. 1.1.17) *uñaḥ* and a separate rule (P. 1.1.18) *ṁ̃*. Moreover, he added the words *vā śākalyasya* in the new rule P. 1.1.18, thus making it clear that both rules deal with the technical name *pragṛhya*, that both rules represent the view of Śākalya, and that, according to Śākalya, the name *pragṛhya* is optionally applied to *uÑ*. The point of the *yogavibhāga* is to sanction three forms, namely, *u iti* or *v–iti*, both by P. 1.1.17, and *um iti* or *v–iti* (again), both by P. 1.1.18. The *yogavibhāga*, according to Kātyāyana's intention, is accepted by Patañjali and later tradition.

6. Thus tradition has completely changed the original character of the rule, which was a substitution rule, as is clear from the genitive form *uñaḥ*. In Kātyāyana's re-interpretation this genitive in the new rule P. 1.1.17 is to be construed with *pragṛhyam*, as a nominative. But this type of *vibhaktivi-pariṇāma* is not known to Pāṇini. A genitive is never changed into a nominative, except when it occurs in *adhikāra* rule. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 228. Then, in connection with the new rule P. 1.1.18, the genitive *uñaḥ* retains its value as a genitive of substitution (see *Mbh*. I, p. 72, lines 8–10).

7. In P. 1.1.17–18, according to our interpretation, the words *itāv anārṣe* are continued from P. 1.1.16 B. All other items are discontinued on the basis of incompatibility with the character of P. 1.1.17–18 as a substitution rule.

8. Again (see P. 1.1.16 B. (3)) the question may be raised why Pāṇini should phrase a rule concerning *padapāṭha*-usage. Since the answer is not clear, it may be assumed that P. 1.1.17–18 is an interpolated rule.

1.1.19 ĪDŪDAU CA SAPTAMYARTHE 'also *ī* and *ū* denoting the sense of the locative case ending (are called *pragṛhya*).

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *īdūdau saptamyarthe*. The *saṃjñā* is *pragṛhya*, supposedly contined by *ca*.

2. The words *itāv anārṣe* (P. 1.1.16 B) are discontinued in the present rule, as is accepted by the *KV*. The point is that P. 1.1.19 does not deal with *padapāṭha*–usage. This is clear from the example quoted by Patañjali (*Mbh*. I, p. 72, line 18) *sómo gaurī́ ádhi śritáḥ* ' Soma has settled on the she-buffalo (skin)' (*Ṛgveda* 9.12.3). In *gaurī* the locative case ending has been *luk*–deleted by P. 7.1.39. The sandhi prescribed by P. 6.1.77 is prohibited by P. 6.1.125 on the basis of the name *pragṛhya*.

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3. According to Wackernagel, (para 270 b), the Vedic locatives in *ī̆/ū̆* of stems in *ī̆/ū̆* are rare. In the text of the Vedas as transmitted to us this *ī̆* and *ū̆* remain unchanged. Wackernagel assumes analogous treatment after corresponding forms of the dual.

4. The *KV* adds the example *adhy asyāṃ māmakī̆ tanū̆* 'upon this body of mine' (*Paippalādasaṃhitā* 1.6.8) and explains that here the forms *māmakī̆* and *tanū̆* are really locatives.

5. If it is accepted that before the interpolation of P. 1.1.16 B and P. 1.1.17–18 the rule *saṃbuddhau śākalyasya* was the immediately preceding rule, then the word *saṃbuddhau* is discontinued by the incompatible item *saptamyarthe*.

6. The particle *ca* in the present rule is redundant, See Joshi– Bhate, 1983, p. 56. It is not required for the continuation of the term *pragṛhya*. It is merely a handy device for inserting rules, like the present one.

7. For *T* see 1.1.1, note 5.

8. The *ślokavārttikas* i and ii on the present rule contain an argument on the question why the constituent *artha* in *saptamyarthe* has been mentioned. Why not simply, *saptamyāḥ* '(*ī̆/ū̆*) of the locative ending' ?

The idea is that the present rule should not apply in cps like *vāpyaśva* 'a horse near the well' (*Mbh.* I, p. 73, line 11), and that the purpose of *artha* in *saptamyarthe* is precisely to prevent the application of P. 1.1.19 here.

The locative *tp.* cp. *vāpyaśvas* is derived as follows :

(1)	(*vāpī̆* + *Ṅi*) + (*aśva* + *sU*) + *sU*	
(2)	(*vāpī̆* + 0) + (*aśva* + 0) + *s*	P. 2.4.71
	(*vāpy* + *aśva* +) + *s*	P. 6.1.77
	vāpyaśvas.	

Here, in stage (2), the suffix *Ṅi*, which conveys the locative meaning, is *luk*-deleted by P. 2.4.71. In the case of *luk*-deletion an operation depending on the (deleted) suffix is not allowed, provided that it is applicable to the stem as such, in our case, *vāpī̆*. Since *saptamyantatva* 'the fact of ending in a locative case ending' is not an operation which affects the stem as such, we may hold that, even after the *luk*-deletion, *vāpī̆* still ends in the locative suffix *Ṅi*. Therefore, if P. 1.1.19 had contained the word *saptamyāḥ* (instead of *saptamyarthe*), it would have become applicable to *vāpī̆*. This is not desired, and that it why the word *artha* has been added. The point is that, in any case, *vāpī̆* does not denote or merely denote a locative meaning.

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How are we to explain that? In this connection Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 73, lines 11–14) refers to two views regarding the origination of a cp.–meaning, the *jahatsvārthā vṛtti* and the *ajahatsvārthā vṛtti* (see *SA*, p. 9–10).

According to the first view, the cp. constituents cease to retain a meaning of their own, as this meaning merges in one single meaning conveyed by the cp. as a whole (compare *Mbh.* I, p. 73, lines 13–14; read *jahatsvārthāyāṃ ca* for *ajahatsvārthāyāṃ ca*). So in this view there can be no question of a separate locative meaning still conveyed by the first member of the cp. (*pūrvapada*). Therefore P. 1.1.19 (*saptamyarthe*) cannot become applicable, which is what we desire.

According to the second view, the cp. constituents retain their own meaning, but with a qualification. The meaning of the *pūrvapada* in a *tp.* cp. loses its independent status and becomes a qualifier of the meaning of the *uttarapada* 'second member of the cp'. That is to say, it becomes subordinate to the meaning of the main cp. member. For instance, in *vāpī* + *aśva* the meaning of *vāpī* is 'near the well'. That qualifies the meaning *aśva*. But since the *pūrvapada vāpī* still retains its locative meaning, P. 1.1.19 (*saptamyarthe*) would become applicable. According to Patañjali, this difficulty is avoided by adopting the *jahatsvārthā vṛtti*. Or, in other words, the author of P. 1.1.19 must have adopted this type of *vṛtti*.

Later grammatical tradition argues that even in the *ajahatsvārthā vṛtti* the difficulty can be removed. *Saptamyarthe* in P. 1.1.19 is interpreted in a restrictive sense: denoting a locative sense only. But in *vāpī* + *aśva* the *pūrvapada* doesn't convey a locative sense only. Here *vāpī* is interpreted to mean *vāpīstha* 'located near the well', that is, in fact, the horse. So here the *pūrvapada* takes on the meaning of the main member of the cp. And that is why P. 1.1.19 (*saptamyarthe*) cannot become applicable.

1.1.20 DĀDHĀ GHV ADĀP '(the verbal bases) *dā*– 'to give' and *dhā*– 'to hold' are (called) *ghu*, except (the verbal bases noted down as) *dāP*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *dādhā*. The *saṃjñā*, which comes after, is *ghu*.

2. The word *pragṛhya*, which functions as the *vidheya* from P.1.1.11-19, is cancelled by the incompatible item *ghu*. The *uddeśya* *īdūdau* from P. 1.1.19 is cancelled by the incompatible item *dādhā adāp*.

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3. There are several verbal bases *dā-* and *dhā-*. The *KV* enumerates them : *ḌudāÑ-* 'to give' (*Dhātup.* 3.9), *dāṆ-* 'to give' (*Dhātup.* 1.977), *do-* 'to cut off' (*Dhātup.* 4.40) and *deṄ-* 'to protect' (*Dhātup.* 1.1011), *ḌUdhāÑ-* 'to hold' (*Dhātup.* 3.10) and *dheṬ-* 'to suck' (*Dhātup.* 1.951).

4. The form *dādhā*, as explained by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* on the present rule, is a *dvandva* formed after the application of *ekaśeṣa* 'the remaining of one only' to the four bases *dā-* and the two bases *dhā-*.

5. The verbal bases *do-*, *deṄ-* and *dheṬ-* also become *dā-* and *dhā-* after the application of P. 6.1.45.

6. *AdāP* excludes the verbal bases *dāP-* 'to mow' (*Dhātup.* 2.50) and *daiP-* 'to clean' (*Dhātup.* 1.971). The form *adāp* is a *naÑ-tatpuruṣa*, by P. 2.1.6, and is to be taken in the sense of *paryudāsa*, exclusion of items (see *ATA*, Note (50)).

7. The term *ghu* (like *gha*, *ghi*, *ṭi*, *bha*, *luk*) is a *kṛtrimā saṃjñā* 'artificially made technical name', as distinct from an *akṛtrimā saṃjñā* 'not artificially made technical name', like *saṃkhyā* 'numeral' or *sarvanāman* 'pronoun'. The terminological difference between *kṛtrima* and *akṛtrima* in connection with *saṃjñās* was already known to Kātyāyana (*Vt.* III on P.1.1.23). The meaning of the term *ghu* is defined by enumeration.

If the *kṛtrimā saṃjñās* in the *A.* have been borrowed from predecessors they may have been redefined by Pāṇini for his own purposes.

8. Examples are *dīyate* 'it is given', *dhīyate* 'it is placed'. Here *ā* is replaced by *ī*, by P. 6 4.66 which mentions *ghu*. On the other hand, we have *dāyate* 'it is mown' or 'it is cleaned'.

1.1.21. ĀDYANTAVAD EKASMIN 'when the question is of (applying a grammatical operation to) one single (phoneme), it is to be treated as if it were the initial (of a sequence) or the final (of a sequence)'.

1. This is an *atideśasūtra* 'rule for extended application'. This type of rules is marked by the use of the suffix *vatī* prescribed in the sense of 'like there or of that' by P. 5.1.116. In grammar *vat* means *vadbhāva* 'treatment like'. Compare *sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment (of the substitute) like the original'. By a rule of extended application properties belonging to one item are extended to another item also.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items become automatically discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

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The *uddeśya* is *ekasmin*, the *vidheya* is *ādyantavat*.

3. The point of this *atideśasūtra* it that it extends grammatical operations prescribed for initial sounds or final sounds to single sounds also. An initial presupposes at least one following item, and a final presupposes at least one preceding item. Therefore operations conditioned by the word *ādi* 'beginning with' or *anta* 'ending with' could never apply to single, unaccompanied items. But this is made possible by the present *sūtra*.

4. Compare *PN*, *pb.* 30, *vyapadeśivad ekasmin* 'when the question is of (applying a grammatical operation to) one single item, it is to be treated like the item which has the designation (concerned in the primary sense of the word)'. See further *PASPA*, fn. 739, and *Mbh.* I, p. 76, line 24.

5. Some examples. P. 3.3.56 prescribes the suffix *aC* after a verbal base ending in *i*. Thus, from *ji*– 'to conquer' we derive *jaya* 'victory' by applying P. 7.3.84 and P. 6.1.78. But this rule should also apply to the verbal base *i*– 'to go' which consists of a single phoneme only. By P. 1.1.21 this verbal base *i*– is treated as *ikārānta* 'ending in *i*'. That is how we can derive the noun *aya* 'a going, movement'.

By P. 3.1.3 a suffix has the *udātta* on the initial syllable. But this rule should also apply to the suffix *aC* which consists of a single phoneme only. By P. 1.1.21 this suffix is treated as *adādi* 'beginning with *a*'. The present rule shows no connection with P. 1.1.20 whatsoever. Therefore the question of *anuvṛtti* is easily decided.

6. Kātyāyana (*Vt.* V on P. 1.1.21) has already raised the question why this *atideśasūtra* is required. It is not Pāṇini's practice to state something which is known from another science, like a definition of the terms *anusvāra*, *kriyā*, *jāti*, *dravya*, *visarga*, *śabda*, *ṛk*, *yajus*, etc., or what is known from *laukikavyavahāra* 'the practice of everyday life', like the meanings of words. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 77, lines 20–22) mentions by way of illustration the case of a man who has one son only. Of that son it is possible to say that he is both the eldest and the youngest.

7. It may be assumed that, since P. 1.1.21 runs counter to Pāṇini's practice, and since this rule is out of context between two *saṃjñāsūtras*, it is an interpolated rule.

1.1.22 TARAPTAMAPAU GHAḤ '(the suffixes) *taraP* and *tamaP* (are called) *gha*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *taraptamapau* and it is mentioned first.

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2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically cancelled. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. Suffixes provided with the *anubandha P* are unaccented (P. 3.1.4).

4. According to P. 5.3.57, *taraP* is the suffix used when an accompanying word– used in the abl.– refers to an item which is to be set apart (*vibhajya-vibhaktavya*) when two items have been mentioned (*dvivacana*). P. 5.3.55 prescribes *tamaP* in the sense of *atiśāyana* ' superiority '. Naturally, in P. 5.3.55 and 57 the cover name *gha* is not used, because the rules deal with each suffix separately.

5. The only places where *gha* is used to indicate *taraP* and *tamaP* are P. 5.4.11, which prescribes the *taddhita* suffix *am* after *tara* and *tama* in connection with particular forms, and P. 6.3.43, which prescribes the shortening of the fem. ending *N̈ī* before *tara* and *tama*, like in *brāhmaṇitarā* ' a more brahmin lady ' and *brāhmaṇitamā* ' a most brahmin lady '.

6. The use of the name *gha* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is not consistent. It is used in three senses : (a) it stands for the sound-group *iy* (P. 5.2.40), (b) it stands for the *taddhita* suffix *iya* (P. 4.1.138 and other rules in the *taddhita* section), and (c) it is the cover name for *taraP* and *tamaP*.

7. We note that in the present rule the suffixes *tara* and *tama* are introduced in their *aupadeśika* ' belonging to (Pāṇini's) *upadeśa* ' form *taraP* and *tamaP*, provided with an *anubandha*. Similar instances are the suffixes *Kla* and *Ktavatu* introduced by P. 1.1.26.

In contrast, in P. 7.1.1 Pāṇini does not say that the suffixes *ana* and *aka* are called *yu* and *vu* respectively. The rule only says that *yu* and *vu* are replaced by *ana* and *aka*. Moreover, *yu* and *vu* are mentioned without *anubandha*. The reason is that, although especially *vu* can be provided with different *anubandhas*, still it is to be replaced by *aka*. These suffixes have been put in the *aṅgādhikāra* to indicate that they cause the preceding stem to be called *aṅga*.

8. The observations made in notes 4–6 lead us to think that P. 1.1.22 has been inserted into the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* at a later date. If *ādyantavad ekasmin* is the immediately preceding rule, P. 1.1.22 shows no connection whatsoever. So, in this case, the question of *anuvṛtti* is easily decided. If *dādhā ghv adāp* is the originally immediately preceding rule, the *vidheya* item *ghu* is cancelled by the incompatible item *gha*, whereas the *uddeśya* item *dādhā adāp* is cancelled by the incompatible item *taraptamapau*.

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1.1.23 BAHUGAṆAVATUḌATI SAṂKHYĀ '*bahu* "many", *gaṇa* "flock" and (noun bases ending in the suffixes) *vatU* and *Ḍati* are (called) *saṃkhyā*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *bahugaṇavatuḍati*, and comes first.

2. The *uddeśya taraptamapau* from P. 1.1.22 is cancelled by the incompatible item *bahugaṇavatuḍati*, and the *vidheya gha* from the same rule is cancelled by the incompatible item *saṃkhyā*.

3. *Saṃkhyā* 'numeral' is a term well known from *laukika–vyavahāra* 'the practice of daily life'. Therefore no explanation or definition is needed here. See 1.1.21 (6).

4. *Bahu*, etc. are not ordinary numerals. Therefore the technical name *saṃkhyā* has to be specially prescribed for these forms. The *KV* notes that mention is of *bahu* and *gaṇa* in number expressions only, as in *bahudhā* 'in many ways' or *gaṇaśaḥ* 'in droves'.

5. *Bahugaṇavatuḍati* is a *samāhāradvandva* used in the neuter singular. See *PN*, *pb*. 34, *sarvo dvandvo vibhāṣaikavad bhavati* 'every *dvandva* is optionally singular'.

6. To the constituents *vatU* and *Ḍati* the *tadantavidhi* is applied. This has to be accepted, because *vatU* and *Ḍati* are *taddhita* suffixes, prescribed by P. 5.2.39 and P. 5.2.41 respectively. By grammatical standards the rule P. 1.1.23 has been badly phrased. This being so, it may be assumed that, originally, it is a non–Pāṇinian rule. P. 1.1.23 deals exclusively with *taddhita* formations. For instance, *ekadhā* 'in one way', *bahudhā* 'in many ways' (P. 5.3.42), *pañcakṛtvas* 'five times', *bahukṛtvas* 'many times' (P. 5.4.17).

1.1.24 ṢṆĀNTĀ ṢAṬ '(a numeral stem) ending in *ṣ* or *ṇ* (is called) *ṣaṭ*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *ṣṇānta*, and comes first.

2. The word *saṃkhyā* from P. 1.1.23 is continued, since there is no incompatible item in P. 1.1.24. The word *bahugaṇavatuḍati* in P. 1.1.23 is discontinued by the incompatible *uddeśya ṣṇānta*.

3. In *ṣṇānta* sandhi has been applied by P. 8.4.41.

4. Why does the rule say *ṣṇānta*, and not simply *ṣṇā*? As explained by tradition (*Vt*. I on P. 1.1.24), the form *ṣṇānta* has been used to make clear that the numerals concerned should end in *ṣ* or *ṇ* in Pāṇini's *upadeśa*.

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What to understand by *upadeśa?* As is known, the *KV* on P. 1.3.2 following Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 260, line 20) derives the word *upadeśa* in the *karaṇa* 'instrument' sense of *upadiśyate anena* 'it is taught by that'. Here the instrument of teaching is explained to be the *śāstravākyāni* 'the statements of grammar' as contained in the *sūtrapāṭha* and the *khilapāṭha*. According to the *Nyāsa* here, the word *khilapāṭha* means *dhātupāṭha*. But on account of the word *ca* (*sūtrapāṭhaḥ khilapāṭhaś ca*) in the explanation of *śāstravākyāni* given by the *KV*, the *Nyāsa* adds the *prātipadikapāṭha*, that is the *gaṇapāṭha*, also. The *padamañjarī* on the same *KV*-passage explains *khilapāṭha* as *dhātupāṭha*, *prātipadikapāṭha* and *vākyapāṭha*. Here the term *vākyapāṭha* refers to the list of *vārttikas*.

In which sense did Pāṇini himself use the word *upadeśa?* With the exception of P. 1.4.70, where no technical meaning is intended, the word *upadeśa* is used nine times in the *A.*, six times as an independent form and three times as part of a *bv.* cp. In the latter case, reference is to a verbal base mentioned in the *dhātupāṭha*. In the earlier case, reference is five times to the *dhātupāṭha*, and once only (in P. 1.3.2) to the *sūtrapāṭha* and the *dhatupāṭha*. We note that the word *upadeśa* is never used by Pāṇini to include reference to the *gaṇapāṭha*.

In his *bhāṣya* on P. 1.3.2 (*Mbh.* I, p. 259, lines 17–23) Patañjali introduces a distinction between *upadeśa* and *uddeśa*, as based on usage. He says that *upadeśa* means *pratyakṣam ākhyānam* 'direct information', that is, giving information by showing directly. The example is of showing a cow and telling that this is a cow to somebody who does not know what a cow is. *Uddeśa*, on the other hand, is explained as *guṇaiḥ prāpaṇam* 'causing to understand by means of (an enumeration of) qualities. The example is Devadatta, who happens to be in Pāṭaliputra, and cannot be seen. Therefore he is described with the help of qualities: he wears bracelets, earrings, a diadem, has a broad chest, fleshy, round arms, red eyes, a prominent nose and wears various ornaments, rather like a kingly figure or an early sculpture of such a figure. When applied to grammar this is taken to mean that *upadeśa* is the direct mention of an item in a particular form in a rule, whereas *uddeśa* is the indication, indirect, of such an item with the help of a property like nasalization in the case of vowels.

Unfortunately, usage is not conclusive. In a following *bhāṣya* (*Mbh.* I, p. 260, lines 4–10) Patañjali says that the words *upadeśa* and *uddeśa* are *saṃkīrṇa* 'intermingled'. That is to say, *uddeśa* is used in the sense of *upadeśa*

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also and vice versa. They are interchangeable words. And that can be illustrated from grammar also. So the only conclusion we can draw from this is that both *upadeśa* and *uddeśa* are used in the sense of providing information which was not known before.

For another *Mbh.*-passage dealing with the difference between *uddeśa* and *upadeśa* see *PASPA*, p. 216. Here it is argued that the term *upadeśa* refers to the underived and underivable elements, linguistic and otherwise, which together form the input of Pāṇini's derivational machine, whereas *uddeśa* is taken to refer to derived forms which together form its output.

More helpful for determining what to understand by *upadeśa* is Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* III on P. 1.1.22. The *Vt.* says that the word *taraP* in P. 1.1.22 is *aupadeśika* 'belonging to the *upadeśa*'. Patañjali then says (*Mbh.* I, p. 79, lines 18–21) *iha hi vyākaraṇe sarveṣv eva sānubandhaka-grahaṇeṣu rūpam āśriyate yatrāsyaitad rūpam iti. Rūpanirgrahaś ca śabdasya nāntareṇa laukikaṃ prayogam. Tasmiṃś ca laukike prayoge sānubandhakānāṃ prayogo nāstīti kṛtvā dvitīyaḥ prayoga upāsyate. Ko'sau. Upadeśo nāma* 'For here in grammar in all mentions (of words) provided with *anubandhas* the (phonetic) form is taken into account, namely, as 'when this (item) has that form (then a rule applies)'. But there is no grasping of a word without its being used by people. And when people use language they don't use (forms) provided with *anubandhas*. Considering thus, a second (type) of usage is adopted. Which is that? The one called *upadeśa*'. From this passage it is clear that a distinction is made between ordinary language and the technical language of grammar. Characteristic for this lattar type of language is that the phonetic form (not the meaning) of words is taken into account, and that this phonetic form may be provided with *anubandhas*.

To return to *ṣṇānta*, it may be suggested that *anta* has been added for clarity's sake. The idea that there is nothing in a *Pāṇinisūtra* which is redundant is not necessarily Pānini's idea. Redundancy may be accepted to some degree, if it can be shown that the clarity of expression is benefitted thereby.

For the *aupadeśika n* and the historic stem-final nasal as in *septem*, *novem*, *decem*, see Whitney, para. 484.

Why has Pāṇini adopted *ṣaṣ* as the stemform, rather than *ṣaṭ*? The answer is that otherwise we cannot account for *bv.* forms like *priyaṣaṣaḥ* 'those to whom six are dear' or *priyaṣaṣam* 'of those to whom six are dear' (see under *SK*, No. 432 on P. 3.2.58).

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5. The numeral stems referred to are *ṣaṣ* 'six' (ending in *ṣ*) and *pañcan* 'five', *saptan* 'seven', *aṣṭan* 'eight', *navan* 'nine' and *daśan* 'ten'.

6. The name *ṣaṭ* is given to the gronp as a whole by way of a sample illustration.

7. One example. P. 7.1.22 prescribes *luk* – deletion of the plural nominative and accusative case endings. Thus we derive

(1) *pañcan* + *Jas* P. 4.1.2
(2) *pañcan* + 0 P. 7.1.22
(3) *pañca*° P. 8.2.7
pañca.

Why delete the plural endings of the nominative and accusative? Why not the singular endings, which would have given us the same forms? The point is that the remaining cases always show the plural endings. Therefore a uniform treatment as plural forms has been imposed. For technical details of derivation see under 1.1.63, note 7.

8. Normally, the item *ṣaṭ* introduced by P. 1.1.24 should cancel the incompatible item *saṃkhyā*. But Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 82, line 1) assumes that the term *saṃkhyā* is continued in P. 1.1.24, and that it is qualified by the *saṃjñin ṣṇāntā* (*Mbh.* I, p. 82, line 2). Thus P. 1.1.24 comes to mean that a *saṃkhyā* ending in *ṣ* or *ṇ* is called *ṣaṭ*.

The difficulty is that in P. 1.1.23 the term *saṃkhyā* refers to *bahugaṇa*, etc., not to ordinary numerals. Therefore Kātyāyana (*Vt.* IV on P. 1.1.23) already suggested that the term *saṃkhyā* in its usual sense should be separately mentioned in P. 1.1.24. How could Pāṇini miss that?

Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 82, lines 8–9) tries to get out of the difficulty by assuming that words continued in a following rule may convey a different meaning. Clearly, this is a solution born out of distress.

The logical explanation is that P. 1.1.23, which deals with *taddita* formations, is an interpolated rule. The original rule P. 1.1.24 must have read *ṣṇāntā saṃkhyā ṣaṭ*. See Joshi–Roodbergen, 1983, p. 62. From the rule thus phrased the *saṃkhyā* and *ṣaṭ* can be easily continued in P. 1.1.15. But then somebody–before Kātyāyana–must have added the *bahugaṇa*, etc. rule, and taken out the word *saṃkhyā* from the original rule P. 1.1.24, in order to establish connection, not bothering about its meaning in P. 1.1.24. See Joshi–Roodbergen, 1983, p. 62, and Joshi–Bhate, 1984, Note (20).

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1.1.25 ḌATI CA 'also (a numeral stem ending in the *taddhita* suffix) *Ḍatī* (is called *ṣaṭ*)'.

This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is a numeral stem (*saṃkhyā*) ending in *ḍati*, and thus includes another *saṃjñā*. Or, in other words, the name *saṃkhyā* forms part of the *uddeśya*.

2. As stated by Joshi–Bhate, 1983, p. 56, the word *ca* in the present rule is redundant. It is merely used as a device for inserting a rule. See under 1.1.6, note 5. This, in combination with the fact that P. 1.1.25 deals with a *taddhita*–suffix, and that the prohibition of the *tadantavidhi* is disregarded, is sufficient reason to assume that the present rule comes from another source and has been inserted in the body of the rules of the *A.* at a later date. See further under 1.1.24, note 8.

3. Actually, the *tadantavidhi* is not to be applied in a *saṃjñāsūtra* introducing suffixes. See under 1.1.11, note 5. But in the present rule the *tadantavidhi* must be applied, because suffixes do not occur alone. Consequently, the name *ṣaṭ* is given, not to the suffix *Ḍati* itself, but to a numeral stem ending in this suffix.

4. The *taddhita* suffix *Ḍati* has been prescribed after the interrogative pronominal stem *kim* in the sense of numerical quantity. The resulting form is *kati* 'how many', derived as follows :

(1)	*kim* + *Ḍati*	P. 5.2.41
(2)	*k* 0 + *ati*	P. 6.4.143
	kati.	
(1)	*kati* + *Jas*	P. 4.1.2
(2)	*kati* + 0	P. 7.1.22
	kati.	

1.1.26 KTAKTAVATŪ NIṢṬHĀ '(the suffixes) *Kta* and *KtavatU* (are called) *niṣṭhā*.'

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *ktaktavatū* and has been mentioned first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

Going by the present text of the *A.*, the *uddeśya ktaktavatū* cancels the incompatible items *saṃkhyā* and *ḍati*. See under 1.1.25, note 1. The *vidheya niṣṭhā* cancels the incompatible item *ṣaṭ* from P. 1.1.24.

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3. By *Vt.* I on P. 1.4.14 the *tadantavidhi* is not applied in a *saṃjñā-sūtra*. Accordingly, the name *niṣṭhā* is given to the suffixes mentioned only, not to stems ending in these suffixes. See under 1.1.11, note 5.

4. *Ktaktavatū* is an *itaretara dvandva*, regularly used in the dual.

5. *Niṣṭhā*, originally *niḥsthā*, with the *visarga* deleted by *Vt.* I on P. 8.3.36, is an *anvarthasaṃjñā* 'an etymologically significant technical term', originally meaning 'firm decision, completion'. See K. CH. Chatterji, *Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar*, University of Calcutta, 1964, p. 106.

6. We note that there is no agreement in gender or number between the *saṃjñin* and the *saṃjñā*.

7. According to P. 3.2.102, the suffixes called *niṣṭhā*, added after a verbal base by P. 3.1.91, convey the sense of the past.

1.1.27 SARVĀDĪNI SARVANĀMĀNI '*sarva* "all", etc. are (called) *sarvanāman* "pronoun"'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *sarvādīni* and comes first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically cancelled. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

The *uddeśya sarvādīni* cancels the incompatible item *ktaktavatū* from P. 1.1.26. The *vidheya sarvanāmāni* cancels the incompatible item *niṣṭhā* from the same rule.

3. The term *sarvādīni* refers to a *gaṇa*. In a *gaṇa* 'list' nominal bases have been collected to which a particular name or grammatical operation is applied. The *gaṇas* themselves have been collected again in a supplement to the *sūtrapāṭha*, called the *gaṇapāṭha*. The *gaṇa* called *sarvādīni* has three sub-*gaṇas*, *ḍatarādayaḥ tyadādayaḥ* and *dvyādayaḥ*, all of which have been mentioned in other *Pāṇinisūtras*.

4. The question of applying the *tadantavidhi* does not arise, for three reasons: a. The present rule is a *saṃjñā*-rule, b. The present rule does not introduce suffixes. The *tadantavidhi* applies on the morphemic and phonemic level, not on the word-stem level, and c. The *tadantavidhi* presupposes a *viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa* relation. But what we have in the present rule is a *saṃjñā-saṃjñin* relation, marked by apposition. For a. and b. see under 1.1.11, note 5.

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5. According to Patañjali (*Mbh.* p. 81, line 26), *sarvanāman* is a *mahatī saṃjñā* 'lengthy designation'. Such a name has been coined so that we should know that the term is etymologically significant (see *ATA, Bh.* No. 2 on P. 2.1.5). The name is *anvartha* 'in accordance with meaning'. *Sarvanāman* literally means 'name of everything', a class of words which are used to refer to anything.

6. The extent of the term *sarvanāman* is defined by enumeration, for the sake of precision.

7. The purpose of the name *sarvanāman* for *sarva*, etc. becomes clear in the substitution rules P. 7.1.14–17.

8. By P. 8.4.3 we would have expected the form *sarvaṇāmāni*. Then how are we to explain *sarvanāmāni*? According to Kātyāyana (*Vt.* I on P. 1.1.27), *sarvanāmāni* is a *nipātana* 'mention as a ready-made form'. That is to say, an irregularity or irregularities in the form of a word are to be overlooked, because the word has been stated like that by Pāṇini. But it has already been stated (see under 1.1.1 (11)) that Pāṇini's rules do not necessarily apply to his *sūtra*–language.

9. *Sarvanāmāni* is the first instance in the *A* of a *saṃjña* used in the pl. The pl. form *sarvādīni* agrees with it. But why didn't Pāṇini phrase the rule in the sg., as *sarvādi sarvanāma*? That would have saved two syllables. Moreover, the term *sarvanāman* is used in the sg. in P. 6.3.91, 7.1.14 and 7.3.114. The answer is not clear. Pāṇini may have borrowed the rule and kept it as it was. But then the same question may be asked. The possibility of borrowing from an earlier source may be used to explain the lack of retroflexation in *sarvanāmāni*. In P. 1.1.33 stems are enumerated which are optionally (preferably not) called *sarvanāman* before the pl. nom. ending *Jas*. That gives us, for instance, *alpāḥ* or *alpe*. But in P. 7.1.16 it is said that after *pūrva*, etc. the pronominal endings *–smai*, *–smat*, *–smin* are optional (preferable). Such inconsistencies, which do not make a difference for the form to be derived, may have belonged to the original text of the *A*. already.

We note in passing that the rule *vibhāṣā jasi* is continued in P. 1.1.33, so that the designation *sarvanāman* becomes optional in the pl. nom. of the words enumerated here. Or, in other words, in the pl. nom. only we can have the usual nominal endings. But the question is, how to argue the continuation of *vibhāṣā jasi* in P. 1.1.33, and its discontinuation in the next rules, P. 1.1.34-36. The difficulty here is, which function to assign to the word *ca* in P. 1.1.33. Is it a boundary marker, marking off P. 1.1.33 from P. 1.1.32, or is it a

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device linking both rules ? The provisional answer is that here *ca* functions as a boundary marker, preventing P. 1.1.32 and 33 to be read as one rule, and that *vibhāṣā jasi* is continued in P. 1.1.33 by way of associative digression. See further Kiparsky, 1979, pp. 84, 86–87, and Joshi– Bhate, 1984, pp. 78–79, 196–97.

10. The section dealing with *sarvanāman* starts with P. 1.1.27 and ends with P. 1.1.36.

1.1.28 VIBHĀṢĀ DIKSAMĀSE BAHUVRĪHAU ' (*sarva*, etc.) are preferably not (called *sarvanāman*), when the question is of a *bahuvrīhi* representing a compound (formed) of (words indicating a) direction '.

1. The present rule is a statement of marginal option with regard to the next rule, which itself is a prohibition regarding the *bv.* cp. formation prescribed by P. 2.2.26.

2. The whole rule P. 1.1.27 is continued in P. 1.1.28, because there is nothing which could block it.

3. For the interpretation of *vibhāṣā* see Kiparsky, 1979, pp. 82–83, 85.

4. The expression *diksamāse bahuvrīhau*, in which *diksamāse* qualifies *bahuvrīhau*, is a *viṣayasaptamī* ' locative case ending indicating the domain (in which the grammatical operation concerned is to be applied)'.

5. The *Nyāsa* on the *KV* analyses the cp. *diksamāsa* as *diśām upadiṣṭaḥ samāsaḥ* ' a (specially) prescribed cp. of (words indicating) directions '. Thus it would seem that *diksamāsa* is an instance of *uttarapadalopisamāsa* (see *BDA*, Introduction, pp. xxii – xxiii). Reference is to *PN*, *pb.* 105 (compare *Mbh.* I, p. 90, lines 17 – 18). However, the correct analysis – which does not make much difference as far as meaning is concerned – is *diśāṃ samāsaḥ yaḥ upadiṣṭaḥ* ' a cp. of (words indicating) directions, which has been (specially) prescribed (as such) ', Thus the term *diksamāsa* refers to the type of *bv.* cp. prescribed by P. 2.2.26.

The point is made clear by Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 90, lines 16–17) with the help of an example. By P. 2.2.24 we could form an ordinary *bv.* cp. like *pūrvottara* in the sense of *pūrvā sā uttarā yasya unmugdhasya* (of that stupid one who thinks that east is north). In later grammatical tradition reference to a female is preferred (*yasyā unmugdhāyāḥ*). To such cps. P. 1.1.28 does not apply. It applies only, when the *diksamāsa* concerned conveys the sense of *antarāla* ' intermediate direction ' (like northeast, etc.), as stated by P. 2.2.26.

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1.1.29 NA BAHUVRĪHAU '(*sarva*, etc.) are not (called *sarvanāman*), when the question is of a *bahuvrīhi*'.

1. As regards *anuvṛtti*, we note that the term *vibhāṣā* from P. 1.1.28 is cancelled by *na*. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 84. The particle *na* may be continued in a rule containing the word *vibhāṣā*, but never reversely. The point is that prohibition cannot be optional. But a less preferred option (*vibhāṣā*) may be turned into a preferred one (*na vibhāṣā* is equal to *vā*).

The term *diksamāse* from P. 1.1.28 is not continued on the ground of *sāmarthya*. Otherwise P. 1.1.29 would be redundant. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, pp. 45–46.

2. The word *bahuvrīhau is a viṣayasaptamī*, for which see under 1.1.28 (3). This being so, its precise meaning here is ambiguous. It may be taken to mean : when the question is of forming a *bv*., or : when occurring in a *bv*. cp.

3. The present rule states a prohibition (*niṣedha*, *pratiṣedha*). It says that the technical name *sarvanāman* is not to be applied to *sarva*, etc. within the domain of a *bv*. Consequently, the rules P. 7.1.14–17, which are conditioned by the name *sarvanāman*, cannot become applicable. Thus, for instance, we will say *priyasarvāya* 'for one to whom everything is dear', and not *priyasarvasmai* A question raised by tradition was, whether the *tadantavidhi* should be applied to the term *sarvanāman* continued in this rule. Normally, when the question is of technical names, the *tadantavidhi* is not applied (see under 1.1.11 (5)), by *Vt*. I on P. 1.4.14. But the *KV* clearly says that the *tadantavidhi* is to be applied to the name *sarvanāman* here. *Sarvanāman* stands for *sarvādi*. Thus, we obtain the interpretations *sarvanāmānta* and *sarvādyanta*, and the rule is taken to mean that, given the possibility of applying the name *sarvanāman* to a *bahuvrīhi* ending in *sarva*, etc., a prohibition is stated. Or, in other words, *bahuvrīhyādhārā saṃjñā na bhavati* 'the name (*sarvanāman*) relating to a *bahuvrīhi* (ending in *sarva*, etc.) is prohibited'. This is the first view mentioned by the *padamañjarī* on the *KV* on the present rule regarding its interpretation. It amounts to a nominative phrase, *sarvādyanto bahuvrīhir na sarvanāma* 'a *bv*. ending in *sarva*, etc. is not (called) *sarvanāman*'. In this interpretation, what was a locative in the original rule has become a nominative.

The *KV* does not state why, in connection with the name *sarvanāman*, the *tadantavidhi* should be accepted. In this connection the following considerations are offered. In P. 7.1.14 ff. the word *sarvanāmnaḥ* functions as the *viśeṣaṇa* 'qualifier' of *aṅgāt*, obtained from P. 6.4.1, *aṅgasya*. Therefore, by

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the *tadantavidhi*, which can be applied here because P. 7.1.14 ff. are not *saṃjñāsūtras*, we interpret *sarvanāmnaḥ* as *sarvanāmāntāt* (*aṅgāt*). , This amounts to saying *sarvādyantāt* (*aṅgāt*). Thus it is clear that, in connection with the name *sarvanāman*, the *tadantavidhi* can be applied.

4. Another question raised by tradition was whether the designation *sarvanāman* is prohibited for the *bv.* cp. ending in *sarva*, etc. as a whole, or for *sarva* etc. as constituents of a *bv.* cp. Here the latter option is the second view mentioned by the *Padamañjarī* on the *KV* on the present rule, namely, *bahuvrīhau yāni sarvādīni tāni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni na bhavanti* ' in a *bahuvrīhi* (the constituents) *sarva*, etc. do not receive the name *sarvanāman* '.

It is in this connection that Patañjali, in search of suitable examples for P. 1.1.29, discusses the examples *makatpitṛka* ' one who has me as a father ', *tvakatpitṛka* ' one who has you as a father ', versus the examples *matkapitṛka* and *tvatkapitṛka* conveying the same meaning. The meaning--explanatory phrases are *ahakaṃ pitā yasya* and *tvakaṃ pitā yasya* (*Mbh.* I, p. 91, lines 11–12). Here the words *ahakam* and *tvakam* are *sarvanāmans*. If it is assumed that in a *bv.* the constituents *sarva*, etc.– which include the pronominal stems *asmad* and *yuṣmad* – do not receive the name *sarvanāman*, we cannot derive the forms *makatpitṛka* and *tvakatpitṛka*, because the *taddhita* suffix *akaC* applied here is conditioned by the name *sarvanāman*, by P. 5.3.71. Instead, we have to use the suffix *ka* prescribed by the section heading rule P. 5.3.70. So, if all this holds good, we can assign a purpose to P. 1.1.29, in the sense that the rule is required to have the examples *matkapitṛka* and *tvatkapitṛka*. But finally (*Mbh.* I, p. 91, line 21) Patañjali, on the authority of one Gonardīya, apparently the author of another *Bhāṣya*, says that *makatpitṛka* and *tvakatpitṛka* only are the correct forms. Thus, to have this decision, P. 1.1.29 cannot be applicable at all. Conclusion : P. 1.1.29 has no purpose.

5. Still another point discussed by tradition (see the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* on the present rule) is whether the name *sarvanāman* being an *anvarthasaṃjñā* ' a technical name which is etymologically significant ' can be used when reference is to one single individual. *Sarvanāma* means *sarveṣāṃ nāma* ' a name for all '. This seems to imply that we can have this designation only when reference is to a group. Consequently, when reference is to one only, like in *priyasarva* ' one to whom everything or everyone is dear ', the name *sarvanāma* cannot be applied to this cp. and in this respect also P. 1.1.29 would be futile.

But the argument is artificial. Pāṇini has not defined the term *sarvanāman* on the basis of etymology. Therefore, there is no good reason to deny that

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this name cannot be applied, when reference is to a single individual only. The point is rather that the name *sarvanāman* is not to be applied to a *bv.* cp. ending in *sarva*, etc. irrespective of its reference. That is why P. 1.1.29 is required.

6. Why has the word *bahuvrīhau* been mentioned again ? Can't we have it from P. 1.1.28 ? In the first place, without *bahuvrīhau* P. 1.1.29 would simply read *na*. This *na* would be combined with P. 1.1.30, and P. 1.1.29 as a separate rule would be lost. There cannot be a rule which consists of *na* only. In the second place, different rule combinations possible after the deletion of the word *bahuvrīhau* in P. 1.1.29 are unsatisfactory. Suppose we change the order of rules, and read P. 1.1.28 as *na bahuvrīhau*, and P. 1.1.29 as *vibhāṣā diksamāse*; in that case, *na* would be continued in the new rule P. 1.1.29. Then, since *na vibhāṣā* means *vā* 'preferably' the intention of the original rule P. 1.1.28 would be reversed.

1.1.30 TṚTĪYĀSAMĀSE '(*sarva* "all", etc. are not called *sarvanāman* "pronoun") when the question is of a cp. formed with a word in the instrumental case ending'.

1. The word *tṛtīyāsamāse* is a *viṣayasaptamī*, for which see under 1.1.28, note 3.

2. The present rule must refer to a *tp.* cp., because no other cp. has been prescribed with a word in the instrumental case.

3. In P. 1.1.30 the rules P. 1.1.27 and P. 1.1.29 (*na*) are continued. P. 1.1.30 extends the prohibition stated by P. 1.1.29 to another instance. For the continuation of *na* see Joshi – Bhate, 1984 p. 126, and p. 274, convention 39.

4. One of the examples quoted by the *KV* is *māsapūrvāya* 'to one who is older by one month'. It is derived as follows :

(1)	((*māsa* + *Ṭā*) + (*pūrva* + *sU*)) + *Ṅe*	P. 2.1.31; 4.1.2
(2)	((*māsa* + 0) + (*pūrva* + 0)) + *e*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*māsa* + + *pūrva*) + *ya*	P. 7.1.13
(4)	*māsapūrvāya*	P. 7.3.102
	māsapūrvāya.	

In stage (3) P. 1.1.30 prohibits the application of P. 7.1.14 which is conditioned by the name *sarvanāman*. Accordingly, the form *māsapūrvasmai* is ruled out.

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5. P. 1.1.30 is an independent rule. It cannot form part of P. 1.1.29, because *bv.* cps. have not been prescribed with a word in the instrumental case ending. It cannot form part of P. 1.1.31 either, because in this rule the word *ca* marks a boundary. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 232.

6. For the question whether P. 1.1.30 denies the status of *sarvanāman* to the cp. as a whole or to an internal constituent only, compare P. 1.1.29, note 4.

In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* the expressions *samāse, bahuvrīhau, dvandve* always refer to a cp. as a whole, not to its constituents. Therefore, we take it that P. 1.1.30 denies the status of *sarvanāman* to the cp. as a whole. But according to the *KV* on the present rule, the prohibition by P. 1.1.30, applies also to the *sarvanāman* item in the corresponding uncompounded word-group. The idea is taken from Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 92, lines 13–14). Presumably, usage was like that. Therefore, according to Patañjali and the *KV*, P. 1.1.30 must be taken to apply to those *sarvanāmans* which can form or which do actually form part of an instrumental *tp* cp.

7. The accent of the rule *tṛtīyāsamāse* is *antodātta*, by P. 6.2.223. The accent of the example *māsapūrvāya*, on the other hand, is *ādyudātta*, by P. 6.2.2 (*–tṛtīya–*).

1.1.31 DVANDVE CA 'also in a *dvandva* (cp. *sarva* "all", etc. are not called *sarvanāman* "pronoun")'.

1. The rules P. 1.1.27 and P. 1.1.29 (*na*) are still continued. P. 1.1.31 extends the prohibition stated by P. 1.1.29 to another instance. For the continuation of *na* see Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 274, convention 39.

2. The word *ca* marks the boundary with both P. 1.1.30 and P. 1.1.32.

3. One of the examples quoted by the *KV* is *pūrvaparāṇām* 'of the earlier ones and the later ones'. It is derived as follows :

(1)	((*pūrva* + *Jas*) + (*para* + *Jas*)) + *ām*		P. 2.2.29; 4.1.2
(2)	(*pūrva* + 0) + (*para* + 0) + *ām*		P. 2.4.71
(3)	*pūrvapara* + *nUṬ*	+ *ām*	P. 7.1.54
(4)	*pūrvaparā* + *n*	+ *ām*	P. 6.4.3
(5)	*pūrvaparā* + *ṇ*	+ *ām*	P. 8.4.2
	pūrvaparāṇām.		

In stage (3) P. 1.1.31 prohibits the application of P. 7.1.52 (and, subsequently, P. 7.3.103).

4. The accent of the rule *dvandve ca* is *udātta* by P. 8.2.5

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1.1.32 VIBHĀṢĀ JASI '(*sarva* "all", etc. are) preferably (*na vibhāṣā*) (called *sarvanāman* "pronoun") before (the pl. nom. ending) *Jas* (in a *dvandva* cp.)'.

1. The rules P. 1.1.27, P. 1.1.29 (*na*) and P. 1.1.31 are continued. Thereby P. 1.1.32 states a preference for the pronominal masculine plural ending *e* for *sarvanāmans* in a *dvandva* cp. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, pp. 78, 118.

2. Traditionally, P. 1.1.32 is known as a rule stating a *prāptavikalpa*, that is, an option with regard to a prohibition applicable by an earlier rule, namely, P. 1.1.29.

3. The example quoted by the *KV* is *katarakatame* 'who (out of two) and who (out of many)?' (pl.). The derivation is as follows :

(1)	((*katara* + *Jas*) + (*katama* + *Jas*)) + *Jas*	P. 4.1.2
(2)	((*katara* + 0) + (*katama* + 0)) + *as*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*katarakatama* + *Śi*	P. 7.1.17
(4)	*katarakatame*	P. 6.1.87
	katarakatame.	

The less preferred form *katarakatamāḥ* is derived by applying P. 6.1.102 in stage (3). Pre-Pāṇinian data to prove the preference for the pronominal ending here are not available.

4. The character of the present rule is that of an associative digression. According to Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 197, a rule which extends an already applicable process (*vidheya*) optionally is considered to be an associative digression, and the process items belonging to such an associative digression are not continued in a following rule.

5. According to P. Kiparsky, 1979, p. 86, the prohibition *na* in P. 1.1.29 is not continued in P. 1.1.32 for the reason that it is stopped by the use of *ca* in P. 1.1.31. But there is no sufficient evidence to say that *ca* discontinues *na*. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, pp. 112–29.

1.1.33 PRATHAMACARAMATAYĀLPĀRDHAKATIPAYANEMĀŚ CA '*prathama* "first", *carama* "last", (words ending in the suffix) *taya* (*P*), *alpa* "little", *ardha* "half", *katipaya* "some" and *nema* "half" (are also preferably called *sarvanāman* "pronoun" before the pl. nom. ending *Jas*'.

1. The rules P. 1.1.27 (*sarvanāmāni*), 1.1.29 (*na*), and 1.1.32 are continued. According to the *KV*, the mention of *dvandve* (in P. 1.1.31) is discontinued. It is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. The idea is that

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P. 1.1.32 already prescribes an option for any *sarvanāman* in a *dvandva*. The word *nema* mentioned in the present rule is a *sarvanāman*. Then what would be the point in mentioning *dvandve* again in P. 1.1.32 ?

2. The word *sarvādīni* from P. 1.1.27 is discontinued because it is incompatible with the subject (*uddeśya*) items introduced by the present rule. See Joshi- Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. *TayaP* is a *taddhita* suffix mentioned in P. 5.2.42. It serves to derive adjectives from numerals in the sense of 'consisting of so many parts'. For the interpretation of *taya* as *tayānta* 'ending in *taya*(*P*)' apply *PN*, *pb.* 23.

4. What is the function of *ca* in the present rule? As has been stated under P. 1.1.32, note 4, the rule *vibhāṣā jasi* is an associative digression. Items belonging to such a digressive rule are not continued in the next rule. See Joshi- Bhate, 1984, p. 197. If, however, their continuation is still desired, *ca* must be stated in the next rule, for purposes of reinforcement. This is what happens here. Compare Joshi- Bhate, 1983, p. 30; 1984, pp. 78–79.

5. According to Kiparsky, 1979, p. 86, *na* is not continued in the present rule, no more than in the earlier rules. But, as stated under P. 1.1.32, note 5, there is no sufficient evidence to assume that *na* is discontinued.

6. The textual evidence collected by Kiparsky, 1979, pp. 86–87, comes to this :

a. *prathama*, as used in the *RgV.* shows nominal inflection in the pl. nom. masc.

b. So also some derivatives formed with *taya*, like *dvaya* and *traya*. But *ubhaya* (= *ubha* + *taya*, P. 5.2.44) shows pronominal inflection in the pl. nom. masc.

c. *alpa* seems to prefer nominal inflection.

d. For *ardha* no data have been given.

e. *katipaya* and *nema* show pronominal inflection in the case mentioned.

Now what to conclude from this as far as the interpretation of P. 1.1.33 is concerned ? The assumption that P. 1.1.33 states a preference for a pronominal ending in the pl. nom. masc. seems to fail on the evidence of *prathama* and some words ending in *taya*. On the other hand, the assumption that P. 1.1.33 states a preference for a nominal ending in the same case fails on the evidence of *ubhaya*, *katipaya* and *nema*. Therefore, it appears that from the evidence provided no single conclusion can be drawn. But, as regards the

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textual evidence, one point may be kept in mind, namely, that Pāṇini did not intend to codify Vedic usage. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is basically a codification of the usage of learned brahmins of Pāṇini's days. It follows that whatever Vedic evidence we can produce in connection with a *Pāṇinisūtra* is irrelevant, except, of course, when the *sūtra* itself is mentioned as referring to Vedic usage. Coming back to P. 1.1.33, we shall therefore discard the evidence provided for *prathama*. The evidence provided for *ubhaya*, *katipaya* and *nema* clearly supports our interpretation given above. In connection with the *taya*-derivations *dvaya* and *traya* we assume that Pāṇini might have wanted to impose a uniform treatment for the pl. nom. ending *e*, even though usage might have been ambiguous,

1.1.34 PŪRVAPARĀVARADAKṢIṆOTTARĀPARĀDHARĀṆI VYAVASTHĀYĀM ASAṂJÑĀYĀM '*pūrva* "earlier; eastern", *para* "later", *avara* "lower", *dakṣiṇa* "southern", *uttara* "northern" *apara* "western" and *adhara* "lower" (are called *sarvanāman* "pronoun"), provided that they denote a relative position (i. e., a direction), but do not stand for a name (of a region)'.

1. The items *sarvādīni* (P. 1.1.27), *na* (P. 1.1.29), *dvandve* (P. 1.1.31) and *vibhāṣā jasi* (P. 1.1.32) are discontinued. In fact, whatever is reinforced by *ca* in P. 1.1.31 is discontinued.

2. Since P. 1.1.34 does not mention a predicate (*vidheya*), we supply *sarvanāmāni* from P. 1.1.27. A *vidheya* item is always continued until it is blocked by an incompatible *vidheya* item. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. Tradition continues *vibhāṣā jasi* (P. 1.1.32). The reason is that the rules P. 1.1.34–36 are mentioned in the *gaṇapāṭha* (no. 241 in Böhtlingk's edition, *sūtras* 16–18) in an identical form. But, so the argument goes, since the *gaṇasūtras* prescribe the name *sarvanāman* for the words listed here without condition, what is the point in mentioning them also in the *sūtrapāṭha*? Apparently, the *KV* assumes that the mention in the *gaṇapāṭha* is earlier than that in the *sūtrapāṭha*. To make their mention in the *sūtrapāṭha* purposeful, it is proposed to continue *vibhāṣā jasi*, in P. 1.1.34–36. The discussion goes back to Kātyāyana (*Vt.* I on P. 1.1.34) and Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 93, line 6).

For L. Bloomfield's analysis of P. 1.1.34–36 in which he notes that *ca* in P. 1.1.33 signals the discontinuation of *vibhāṣā jasi*, and his explanation of the duplication in tradition see Kiparsky, 1979, pp. 84–85. For Kiparsky's

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explanation why *pūrva*, etc. were brought into the *gaṇapāṭha* at all, see ibid., p. 85.

4. Whereas in P. 1.1.33 a pl. nom. masc. is used for a *dvandva* cp. (... *nemāḥ*), the pl. nom. neuter is used in the present rule (... *adharāṇi*). Apparently, gender is indifferent here.

5. The locatives *vyavasthāyām* and *asaṃjñāyām* represent non-technical meaning-conditions.

6. The counter-examples given by the *KV* are *dakṣiṇā ime gāthakāḥ* 'these singers are skilful' and *uttarāḥ kuravaḥ* '(the region known as) North Kuru'.

1.1.35 SVAM AJÑĀTIDHANĀKHYĀYĀM '*sva* (is called *sarvanāman* "pronoun") except when it means *jñāti* "kinsman" or *dhana* "possession, wealth"'.

1. For the items discontinued see under P. 1.1.34, note 1.

2. The *vidheya sarvanāmāni* is continued from P. 1.1.27 as *sarvanāman*. A word in the course of its continuation may undergo a change of grammatical number (and case, *vibhaktivipariṇāma*), when required by the new context. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 224.

3. The locative *ākhyāyām* represents a non-technical meaning-condition ("when used in the sense of..."). The word or words preceding *ākhyā-* (*–yām*) specify the meaning or meanings intended. Alternatively, to indicate a meaning-condition, Pāṇini may simply use the locative of the word conveying that meaning. The term *saṃjñā*, on the other hand, is never used to indicate specific meanings.

4. The counter-examples given by the *KV* are (1) a stanza from the *Mahābh.*, 5.35.38, *dhūmāyanta ivāśliṣṭāḥ prajvalantīva saṃhatāḥ | ulmukānīva me'mi jñātayo bharatarṣabha* 'unconnected they produce smoke, so to speak, united they blaze forth, so to speak. Like firebrands are these kinsmen of mine, o bull among the Bharatas!', and (2) *prabhūtāḥ svāḥ na dīyante prabhūtāḥ svāḥ na bhujyante* 'much wealth is not given, much wealth is not enjoyed'.

1.1.36 ANTARAṂ BAHIRYOGOPASAṂVYĀNAYOḤ '*antara* (is called *sarvanāman* "pronoun") when signifying connection with outside or interior garment'.

1. For the items discontinued see under P. 1.1.34, note 1.

2. The *vidheya sarvanāmāni* is continued from P. 1.1.27. See further under P. 1.1.35, note 2.

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3. In connection with the meaning-condition *bahiryoga* the *KV* quotes the examples *antare | antarāḥ gṛhāḥ* 'houses located on the outside (of a village)', that is, houses inhabited by *cāṇḍālas*, etc. According to the interpretation of P. 1.1.36 given above the only correct example should be *antare gṛhāḥ*.

4. The counter-examples provided by the *KV* are *anayor grāmayor antare tāpasaḥ prativasati* 'the ascetic lives between these two villages' and *tasminn antare śītāny udakāni* 'in the meantime cold water...'. The question is, how can the sg. loc. *antare* be a counter-example for what according to the *KV* should be a pl. nom.? In answer it is suggested that the *KV* borrows from (at least) two sources : a non-Patañjali-source which may be a pre-Patañjali source or even an early *vṛtti* on the *Pāṇinisūtras*, and the *Mbh*. In addition, it may be assumed that, according to the non-Patañjali source, P. 1.1.36 is a general rule, not restricted to the use of *antara* in the pl. nom. In that case, the counter-examples are correct, because here *antare* (nominal inflection) is used instead of *antarasmin*. In any case, we are grateful to note that the use made by the *KV* of the *Mbh*. did not result in the ousting of anomalous (by *Mbh*. standards of interpretation) examples.

1.1.37 SVARĀDINIPĀTAM AVYAYAM '(the list) headed by *svar* "heaven" and (what is technically called) *nipāta* (is called) *avyaya* "indeclinable".'

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *svarādinipātam* and it comes first.

2. The word *sarvanāmāni* from P. 1.1.27 is discontinued because it is incompatible with the new predicate (*vidheya*) *avyaya* introduced by the present rule. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. The *svarādi*-list (no. 254 in Böhtlingk's edition of the *gaṇapāṭha*) is a haphazard collection of adverbs, exclamations and words formed with particular suffixes. In fact, Pāṇini has not set up a separate word-class named "adverb".

4. The words called *nipāta* have been enumerated from P. 1.4.56-96 (inclusive).

5. Pāṇini does not provide a semantic definition of what he calls *avyaya*. The reason may be that due to the great variety of the forms included here such a definition would be open to the defect of under-or over-application. The enumeration given by Pāṇini involves the *sūtras* P. 1.1.37-41.

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6. The *KV* borrows a semantic definition of *avyaya* in verse from Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 96, lines 16–17), as follows : *sadṛśaṃ triṣu liṅgeṣu sarvāsu ca vibhaktiṣu / vacaneṣu ca sarveṣu yan na vyeti tad avyayam* ' what remains the same in the three genders, and what does not change in all case endings (i. e., to which not all case endings are added) and in all numbers (is called) *avyaya* '. Since the term *avyaya* allows of a fitting etymological explanation, it is said to be an *anvarthasaṃjñā*.

7. The statement that an *avyaya* shows no change of case endings should not lead us to think that in Pāṇini's technical procedure case endings are not added to *avyayas*. They are added in order to confer the status of *pada* upon them. Thereafter the case ending is deleted (P. 2.4.82).

8. In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* the class called *avyaya* includes sub–classes of *nipāta* also, namely, the list headed by *ca* (P. 1.4.57) and the list headed by *pra* (P. 1.4.58).

1.1.38 TADDHITAŚ CĀSARVAVIBHAKTIḤ ' also (a form after which) a *taddhita* (–suffix has been added and) which does not show all case endings (is called *avyaya*) '.

1. The *vidheya* item *avyayam* from P. 1.1.37 is continued. Thereby the definition of *avyaya* is extended.

2. Since Pāṇini has not formulated the *pb. pratyaya grahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas*, etc. (*PN.*, *pb.* 23), the question is, how to interpret the word *taddhita* in the present rule in a strictly Pāṇinian sense. In order to do so, we refer to P. 1.4.13 (which, anyway, forms the *jñāpaka*– basis of *PN*, *pb.* 23). This rule may be divided into two parts, namely, *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi* ' (a form) beginning with that after which a suffix has been prescribed (is denoted by the mention of a suffix) ', and *pratyaye 'ṅgam* ' before a suffix (the preceding form is called) *aṅga* '. Accordingly, the word *taddita* in P. 1.1.38 is interpreted to mean ' beginning with that form after which a *taddita*–suffix is added '. This, again, amounts to saying *taddhitānta* ' ending in a *taddhita* (–suffix) '

3. What is the function of *ca* in the present rule ? In the sequence P. 1.1.37–41 the first rule, P. 1.1.37, says that *svarādi* words and *nipātas* are called *avyaya* ' indeclinable '. As is known, all indeclinables are called *prātipadika* by P. 1.2.45. Therefore, by P. 4.1.1–2, case endings are added. Accordingly, the designation *pada* is applied by P. 4.1.14. Then the case endings are *luk*–deleted by P. 2.4 82, so that further operations depending on the case suffix are disallowed.

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P. 1.1.39 says that particular *kṛt*-derivatives are called *avyaya*. P. 1.1.40 continues this designation for words ending in *Ktvā*, etc. In P. 1.1.39 and 40 the word *ca* is not used. The reason is clear : *ca* is not used here, because it is not required to ensure the continuation of the *vidheya* item *avyaya*. Since in P. 1.1.38 no other purpose could be served by the mention of *ca*, we conclude that it is redundant here. However, since it has been used, it must be taken to indicate that in a later stage of the text P. 1.1.38 has been inserted by means of the loosely connective particle *ca*. See Joshi–Roodbergen, " The Structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in Historical Perspective ", *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Studies in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, Pune, 1983, p. 63, sub 2.1.2. The same argument holds for *ca* in P. 1.1.41.

4. The suffixes called *taddhita* which derive secondary noun-stems are enumerated in P. 4.1.76–5.4.160. As argued in the article referred to above, the rules dealing with *taddhita* (and *samāsa*) are probably later additions to the original text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

5. As explained by the *KV*, the word *asarvavibhakti* is a *bv.* cp. derived in the sense of *yasmān na sarvavibhakter utpattiḥ* ' after which (form) there is no origination of all case endings '. For the construction of the negation (*prasajyapratiṣedha*; the verb meaning is stated by *utpattiḥ*) see *ATA*, Note (50).

6. Among the examples quoted by the *KV* are *yatas* and *yatra*. They are derived as follows :

A.	(1)	(*yat* + *Ṅas*) +	*tasIL*	P. 5.3.7
	(2)	(*yat* +) +	*tas*	P. 2.4.71
	(3)	*yaa* +	*tas*	P. 7.2.102
	(4)	*ya* +	*tas*	P. 6.1.97
		yatas.		
B.	(1)	(*yat* + *Ṅi*) +	*traL*	P. 5.3.10
	(2)	(*yat* + 0) +	*tra*	P. 2.4.71
	(3)	*yaa* +	*tra*	P. 7.2.102
	(4)	*ya* +	*tra*	P. 6.1.97
		yatra.		

1.1.39 KṚN MEJANTAḤ '(a form after which) a *kṛt* (–suffix has been added) which (itself) ends in *m* or in (an) *eC* (–letter is called *avyaya*) '.

1. The *vidheya* item *avyaya* is continued from P. 1.1.37. Thereby the definition of *avyaya* is extended again.

2. For the interpretation of *kṛt* see under P. 1.1.38, note 2.

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3. The suffixes called *kṛt*, which derive noun-stems directly from verbal bases, are enumerated from P. 3.1.93–4.1.2.

4. The term *eC* is an abbreviative designation (*pratyāhāra*, P. 1.1.71) for *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au*.

5. Couldn't we have the meaning *anta* for *mec* by simply applying P. 1.1.72? As explained by the *KV*, the form *mejanta* has been used to indicate that the *kṛt*-derivatives intended should end in *m* or in an *eC*-letter in Pāṇini's *upadeśa*. That is to say, these endings must form part of an original enunciation by Pāṇini, and not be the result of a replacement in the course of the *prakriyā*. See also under P. 1.1.24, note 3.

Consider the example *kumbhakāra* + *bhyas*. Here *kumbhakāra* is *kṛdanta* by P. 3.2.1. The ending *bhyas* is added by P. 4.1.2. The next step is *kumbhakāre* + *bhyas*, by P. 7.3.103. In this stage the *kṛdanta* form *kumbhakāre* ends in *e*. So there is a chance to apply the designation *avyaya* here, by P. 1.1.39. But, so the argument goes, since the *e* in *kumbhakāre* is the result of *prakriyā*, it cannot be *aupadeśika* 'belonging to the *upadeśa*'. Therefore P. 1.1.39 does not apply.

This explanation of *anta* in P. 1.1.39 is, however, farfetched. Suppose the rule just reads *kṛn mec*, or rather *kṛnmec*, because we do not know whether we have to do with one word, a cp., or with two words. If it is taken as one word, it means that *m* and *eC* of a *kṛt*-suffix are called *avyaya*. This cannot be. To make clear that *kṛn* and *mec* are to separate words, the form *anta* has been added to *mec*.

6. The examples given by the *KV* for *kṛt*-derivatives in *m* are *ṆamUL*-formations formed on the pattern of *svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte* 'after first having sweetened (his food) he eats'. Here the *kṛt*-derivative (*svāduṃ*) *kāram* ends in *m*. The other two examples are *saṃpannaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte* 'after first having added flavour (to his dish) he eats' and *lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte* 'after first having added salt (to his food) he eats'. The examples for *kṛt*-derivatives ending in an *eC*-letter are all of them Vedic examples, namely, *vakṣe rāyaḥ* 'in order to speak of wealth' (unidentifiable; occurs in the *KV* only), *tā vām eṣe rathānām* 'you two (we pray for) ... of the chariots in order to go (fast), (*ṚgV.* 5.66.3), *kratve dakṣāya jīváse | jyok ca sūryaṃ dṛśe* '... for reflection, for decision, in order to live (and) in order to see the sun for a long time' (*ṚgV.* 10.57.4). The forms *vakṣe*, *eṣe* and *dṛśe* are derived with suffixes having the meaning of the infinitive ending–*tum*, by P. 3.4.9. Here the *e* is *aupadeśika*.

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1.1.40 KTVĀTOSUNKASUNAḤ '(a form after which one of the suffixes) *Ktvā*, *tosUN* or *kasUN* (has been added is called *avyaya*)'.

1. The *vidheya* item *avyaya* is continued from P. 1.1.37. Thereby the definition of *avyaya* is extended once more.

2. For the interpretation of the form *ktvātosunkasunaḥ* see under P. 1.1.38, note 2.

3. The suffix *Ktvā* is treated in P. 3.4.18–24. Its meaning is defined in P. 3.4.21.

4. The Vedic suffix *tosUN* is introduced by P. 3.4.16 in the sense of *bhāvalakṣaṇa* 'indicating a state' after specific verbal bases.

5. The Vedic suffix *KasUN* is introduced by P. 3.4.17 in the same sense as *tosUN* after specific verbal bases.

6. The examples for *tosUN* given by the *KV* are *purā sūryasyodetor ādheyaḥ* '(the sacred fire) is to be placed (in the fire–place) before the rising of the sun' (*Kāṭhakasaṃhitā*, 8. 3–5), and *purā vatsānām apākartoḥ* 'before the driving away of the calves (from the cows)' (ibid. 31.15). See *TA*, fn. 617 and *PRATI*, p. 159.

The derivation of the form *udetos* is as follows :

(1)	*i–*	*Dhātup.* 2.36
(2)	*ud* + *i*	
(3)	*ud* + *i* + *tosUN*	P. 3.4.16
(4)	*ud* + *i* + *tos*	P. 1.3.2; 1.3.3
(5)	*ud* + *e* + *tos*	P. 7.3.84
	udetos.	

7. The examples for *KasUN* given by the *KV* are *purā̆ krūrásya viṣṭpo virapśin* 'before the slipping hither and thither of the cruel (battle), o plentiful one' (*Taittirīyasaṃhitā*, 1.1.9.3; see *PRATI*, fn. 536) and *purā̆ jatrúbhya ātṛdaḥ* 'before the piercing away from the collar bones'.

1.1.41 AVYAYĪBHĀVAŚ CA 'also an *avyayībhāva* cp. (is called *avyaya*)'.

1. The *vidheya* item *avyayam* is continued from P. 1.1.37. Thereby the definition of *avyaya* is extended again, though for the last time.

2. The cps called *avyayībhāva* are treated in P. 2.1.5–21 (inclusive).

3. The *KV*, following Kātyāyana (*Vt.* I on P. 1.1.41) enumerates three purposes of applying the name *avyaya* to *avyayībhāva* cps :

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a. *luk*– elision of the case ending becomes available by P. 2.4.82;

b. the accent prescribed for *mukha* in a cp. when preceded by an *avyaya*, namely, *ādyudātta*, becomes available by P. 6.2.168.

c. the prohibition of the replacement of *vsiarga* by *s* for an *avyaya* ending in *as* becomes available by P. 8.3.46.

4. For the (redundant) function of *ca* in the present rule, see under P. 1.1.38 note 3. In connection with P. 1.1.41 also we assume that this rule belongs to a later layer of the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and that *ca* here merely serves as a loosely connective particle.

5. The *KV*, having noted that P. 1.1.39, phrased as *kṛn makārasamdhyakṣarāntaḥ* '(a form after which) a *kṛt* (– suffix has been added) which (itself) ends in *m* or in a diphthong', P. 1.1.40 and P. 1.1.41 also occur in the *gaṇapāṭha*, in the, *svarādi*–list, as part of *sūtra* 73, as *sūtra* 72 and again as part of *sūtra* 73, says that their restatement in the *sūtrapāṭha* serves to inform as that these rules are *anitya* 'not invariably valid'.

Here again (see under P. 1.1.34, note 3) the *KV* assumes that the mention of a rule in the *gaṇapāṭha* is earlier than that in the *sūtrapāṭha*. However, the appeal made to *punarvacana* 'restatement' to declare a rule *anitya* cannot be correct. A restatement is an emphatic statement which always serves to re–inforce a rule, never to declare its *anityatva*. One wonders which was the source made use of by the *KV* here.

1.1.42 ŚI SARVANĀMASTHĀNAM '(the suffix) *Śi* (is called) *sarvanāmasthāna*'.

1. This is a *sāṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *Śi*, and it comes first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and a new *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. *Śi* is the substitute ending for the pl. nom. and acc. endings *Jas* and *Śas* in the case of neuter nominal stems, by P. 7.1.20.

4. The tag-letter (*anubandha*) *Ś* here indicates that the whole of the original ending is to be replaced, by P. 1.1.55.

5. The term *sarvanāmasthāna* is an etymologically significant pre-Pāṇinian technical term. It is a *bv.* cp. meaning '(a suffix) involving the placing of the whole (i. e., the full, strong) noun (–stem)'.

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6. One of the examples given by the *KV* (borrowed from Patañjali, *Mbh.* I, p. 109, lines 3–4) is *kuṇḍāni tiṣṭhanti*, 'there are pitchers'. The derivation of *kuṇḍāni* is as follows:

(1)	*kuṇḍa*	+ *Jas*	P. 4.1.2
(2)	*kuṇḍa*	+ *Śi*	P. 7.1.20
(3)	*kuṇḍa* + *nUM*	+ *i*	P. 7.1.72
(4)	*kuṇḍā* + *n*	+ *i*	P. 6.4.8
	kuṇḍāni.		

1.1.43 SUḌ ANAPUṂSAKASYA '(what is included in) *sUṬ* of the non-neuter (is also called *sarvanāmasthāna*)'.

1. Tradition knows two different wordings of the rule, *suḍ anapuṃsakasya* (adopted by Kātyāyana *Vt.* I on P. 1.1.42 and 43, Patañjali and the *KV*), and *suḍ anapuṃsakam* (adopted by Böhtlingk). The genitive form *anapuṃsakasya* is explained by the *KV* in a locative sense, *napuṃsakād anyatra* 'in other instances than the neuter'.

The word *napuṃsaka* means 'neuter gender'. The neuter gender may be said to belong to a noun-stem or to a case ending. Since *sUṬ* refers to case endings, we take it that the reference of *anapuṃsaka* is to case endings also, namely, non-neuter case endings. The genitive *anapuṃsakasya* is taken to represent a part-whole relation.

In the reading *suḍ anapuṃsakam* the word *anapuṃsaka* is best taken as an adjective, in the sense of 'belonging to the non-neuter'. That gives us the straight forward translation '*sUṬ* belonging to the non-neuter (is also called *sarvanāmasthāna*)'. Thus the difference in meaning between the genitive expression and the nominative expression is nil.

Out of the two readings, *suḍ anapuṃsakam* is definitely the *lectio facilior*. Therefore *suḍ anapuṃsakasya* is preferred.

2. The *vidheya* itme *sarvanāmasthānam* is continued from P. 1.1.42. Thereby the definition of *sarvanāmasthāna* is extended.

3. *SUṬ* is an abbreviative designation (*pratyāhāra*) formed from P. 4.1.2. It stands for the nominative endings *sU*, *au* and *Jas*, and for the accusative endings *am* and *auṬ*, that is, for the first five endings enumerated by P. 4.1.2.

4. *Napuṃsaka* is the pre-Pāṇinian technical term for the neuter gender. The form *napuṃsaka* (with *na-*) has been specially prescribed by P. 6.3.75.

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5. An example quoted by the *KV* is *rājā* 'king' (sg. nom.). It is derived as follows :

(1) *rājan* + *sU*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *rājān* + *s*	P. 6.4.8
(3) *rājān* + 0	P. 6.1.68
(4) *rājā*°	P. 8.2.7
rājā.	

1.1.44 NA VETI VIBHĀṢĀ '*vibhāṣā*' means 'or rather not'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *na vā*, and it comes first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and a new *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items are discontinued. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. In grammar a word stands for its own form (P. 1.1.68). But, as stated by the *KV* on the present rule, when *iti* is added, the meaning of the expression is intended. Accordingly, P. 1.1.44 defines the meaning of *vibhāṣā* as *na vā*.

4. Out of the three terms *vā*, *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām* which tradition indiscriminately interprets as 'option' Pāṇini has only defined *vibhāṣā*. The reason is that the technical, grammatical meaning of this term cannot be known from usage, as is the case with *vā* and *anyatarasyām*. Or even if *anyatarasyām* is not exactly *laukika* 'part of daily usage', it is in any case self-explanatory.

6. The interpretation of P. 1.1.44 given by tradition differs considerably from the one stated above, As explained by the *KV*, *na* means prohibition (*pratiṣedha*), and *vā* means option (*vikalpa*). Accordingly, P. 1.1.44 is taken to mean that wherever we have the combination of a prohibition and an option we speak of *vibhāṣā*. Technically speaking, the *vibhāṣā* taught by P. 1.1.44 is meant for *ubhayatra vibhāṣā*.

6. The term *vibhāṣā* was already used in P. 1.1.28 and 32. In tradition three types of *vibhāṣā* are distinguished : a. *prāptavibhāṣā*, b. *aprāptavibhāṣā*, and c. *ubhayatravibhāṣā*. Here a. is defined as *yatra bhavatīti prāptaṃ tatra na bhavatīti vidhīyate* 'where *bhavati* is already in force, there *na bhavati* is prescribed', whereas b. is defined as *yatra na bhavatīti prāptaṃ tatra bhavatīti vidhīyate* 'where *na bhavati* is already in force, there *bhavati* is prescribed'. By the expressions *bhavati* 'is allowed' and *na bhavati* 'is not allowed' the

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two aspects of *vikalpa* 'option' are indicated. Thus *prāptavibhāṣā* comes to mean that a grammatical operation which has already been provided for by a rule is optionally disallowed by another rule, whereas *aprāptavibhāṣā* comes to mean that a grammatical operation which has not already been provided for by a rule is optionally allowed by the rule in question.

The third type of *vibhāṣā*, *ubhayatravibhāṣā* or *prāptāprāptavibhāṣā*, combines the features of a. and b. That is to say, in some respects an operation is optionally disallowed, whereas in other respects it is optionally allowed. As stated obove, according to tradition, this is the type of *vibhāṣā* dealt with in P. 1.1.44.

7. The example traditionally offered for P. 1.1.44 is P. 6.1.30, which contains the word *vibhāṣā*. This rule is taken to mean that the verbal base *śvi-* 'to swell' takes *saṃprasāraṇa* optionally before the perfect endings. There is, however, an earlier rule, P. 6.1.15, which says that *śvi-* takes *saṃprasāraṇa* before a *Kit* suffix. By P. 1.2.5 a suffix which is not marked with *P* is considered *Kit*.

Since the question is of perfect endings, we have to decide which of these endings is *Kit*. The 3 sg. pf. ending *ṆaL* is a replacement of *tiP*, by P. 3.4.82. Therefore, by P. 1.1.56, *ṆaL* also is regarded as being marked with *P*. Since it is marked with *P*, it connot be *Kit*. But the 3 du. and pl. pf. endings *atus* and *us* are replacements of *tas* and *jhi*, which are *apit*. Therefore *atus* and *us* also are regarded as *apit*, that is, *Kit*.

Since P. 6.1.15 restricts *saṃprasāraṇa* in the case of *śvi-* to endings which are *Kit*, the 3 sg. pf. act. could only be derived as *śi-śvāy-a*, without *saṃprasāraṇa*. In contrast, for the 3 du. and pl. pf. act. we have *śu-śuv-atus* and *śu-śuv-us*, with *saṃprasāraṇa*, due to the option provided by P. 6.1.30.

But this is not desired. We want *saṃprasāraṇa* in the 3 sg. pf. and non-*saṃprasāraṇa* in the 3 du. and pl. pf. also, so that we can have the form *śu-śāv-a* on one hand, and *śi-śviy-atus* and *śi-śviy-us* on the other (see *Mbh*. III, p. 28, line 20, and p. 29, line 3). How are we to ensure this? This is done by tradition by interpreting the *vibhāṣā* of P. 6.1.30 as *ubhayatra vibhāṣā*. That is to say, considering that *saṃprasāraṇa* in the case of the 3 sg. pf. was not available (*aprāpta*) from an earlier rule, we take it that it is declared optionally applicable by P. 6.1.30. On the other hand, considering that *saṃprasāraṇa* in the case of the 3 du. and pl. endings was available (*prāpta*) from P. 6.1.15, we take it that it is declared optionally not-applicable by P. 6.1.30.

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So far, so good. But there is a difficulty. If one and the same rule, P. 6.1.30, is to be regarded as a rule stating *aprāptavibhāṣā* and *prāptavibhāṣā* at the same time, we would require two rules stating *vibhāṣā śveḥ*. It is precisely to remove this difficulty, so the tradition holds, that P. 1.1.44 has been stated.

P. 1.1.44 says that *vibhāṣā* means *na vā*, that is, *na* + *vā*, prohibition and option combined. When applied to P. 6.1.30, *na* is taken to mean that *saṃprasāraṇa* is not allowed (*na bhavati*) in connection with *śvi*– in the pf. We knew from P. 6.1.15 that before the 3 sg. pf. ending *saṃprasāraṇa* was not applicable. But now, from P. 6.1.30 read together with P. 1.1.44 (*na*), we know that even in the 3 du. and pl. pf. *saṃprasāraṇa* is not allowed. As stated by the *KV*, hereby the domain of application of the rule (P. 6.1.30) has been made level. That is to say, the original distinction in the treatment of the 3 sg. pf. (no *saṃprasāraṇa*) and the 3 du. and pl. pf. (*saṃprasāraṇa*) has disappeared, because *saṃprasāraṇa* has been uniformly disallowed for all pf. endings. So the endings are all on the same level.

But then P. 1.1.44 also says *vā*. The term *vā* (*vikalpa*) means *bhavati, na bhavati*. However, the *na bhavati* we already have from *na* i. e. (*pratiṣedha*). So *bhavati* 'it is allowed' remains. This means that *saṃprasāraṇa* is optionally allowed, namely, in connection with *śvi*– in the pf. This is also taken to mean that the *vibhāṣā* stated by P. 6.1.30 is no longer an *ubhayatra vibhāṣā* but an *aprāptavibhāṣā*. The conclusion is that by thus introducing *na* and *vā* from P. 1.1.44, two rules both of which read *vibhāṣā śveḥ* are not required.

8. According to the new interpretation of P. 1.1.44 given above, a grammatical operation which has been prescribed is rather not applied, as a matter of stylistic non–preference. It is assumed that, to indicate preference, Pāṇini uses *vā*. See Kiparsky, 1979, p. 1. It follows that, when *na* is continued in a rule stating *vibhāṣā* or *vā*, we obtain *na vibhāṣā* 'or preferably' and *na vā* 'or not preferably'. It may be noted that *vibhāṣā* or *vā* are never continued, if the next rule contains the negation *na*. The reason is simple : a negation or prohibiton has no alternative. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 273, convention 30. On the other hand, an option, whether preferred or not, leaves room for a prohibition.

Tradition knows the meaning of *na vā* in the sense of 'or not preferably', 'or rather not'. Kātyāyana uses *na vā* in this sense several times. But there are also at least two passages in the *Mbh*. in which Patañjali gives

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evidence of this sense. They occur in Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* V on P. 1.1.44. The *Vt.* itself starts with *na vā*. In his comment Patañjali says *grāmo bhavatā gantavyo na vā. Neti gamyate* 'you better not go to the village. (Here) we understand : don't (go)' (*Mbh.* I, p. 102, lines 17–18). And *yavāgūr bhavatā bhoktavyā na vā* (Patañjali's joke for *na vā*). *Neti gamyate* 'you better not eat rice-gruel. (Here) we understand : don't (eat)'. See *PRĀTI*, fn. 405, for a complete translation of the passage involved. How tradition could loose sight of this *laukika* meaning of *na vā* is not clear. As the unfortunate result of forgetting about this meaning traditional commentators in grammar turned to artificialities like *prāpta–* and *aprāptavibhāṣā*.

An attempt for a new explanation may, however, be offered here. In Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's days–and probably much earlier–Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language taught at home. It had to be learnt at school. As a result, firstly, speakers of Sanskrit had lost the feeling for preferred and non-preferred forms. But the other consequence must have been that Sanskrit grammarians no longer realized the import of statements like *vā* and *vibhāṣā* as dealing with degrees of stylistic preference. In fact, the notion of styles of language is completely alien to traditional Sanskrit pandits. That may be how the terms *vibhāṣā*, *vā* and *anyatarasyām* came to be uniformly interpreted as 'option'.

1.1.45 IG YAṆAḤ SAṂPRASĀRAṆAṂ '(a vowel included in) *iK* coming in the place of (a semivowel included in) *yaṆ* (is called) *saṃprasāraṇa*'

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *ig yaṇaḥ*, and it comes first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and a new *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. The term *iK* is the abbreviative designation (*pratyāhāra*, P. 1.1.71) for the vowels *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*.

4. The term *yaṆ* is the abbreviative designation for the semivowels *y*, *v*, *r* and *l*.

4. The genitive ending in *yaṇaḥ* is interpreted in its technical sense of *sthāne* 'in the place of', by P. 1.1.49.

5. The *KV* notes that the name *saṃprasāraṇa* applies both to an *iK*–vowel which has replaced a *yaṆ*–letter and to an *iK*–vowel which is still to replace a *yaṆ*–letter with the help of the term *saṃprasāraṇa*. In this

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connection the *KV* uses the terms *bhūta* 'which has taken place' and *bhāvin* 'which is still to take place'. Consider *vac* + *Kta* (P. 3.2.102). Here P. 6.1.15 prescribes *saṃprasāraṇa*. That is to say, the *iK*–vowel *u* is to come in the place of *v*. Or, in other words, the *iK*–vowel *u* is *bhāvin*. But after P. 6.1.15 has been applied and we have advanced to the next stage, *uc* + *ta*, the *iK*–vowel *u* is *bhūta*. It has come to be there, as the result of the application of P. 6.1.15. It must also be called *saṃprasāraṇa*, because otherwise P. 6.1.108 which contains the term *saṃprasāraṇa* cannot apply.

The same question is discussed with the help of the terms *vākya* 'sentence (describing a process, namely, a grammatical operation)' and *varṇa* 'a sound (as the outcome of the process)' by Kātyāyana (*Vts* I and II on P. 1.1.45) and Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* here. The question is asked whether the term *saṃprasāraṇa* refers to a *vākya*, namely, *ig yaṇaḥ*, or to a *varṇa*, namely, the *iK*–vowel which has replaced the *yaṆ*–letter. Eventually, Patañjali opts for the *varṇa* (*Mbh*. I, p. 112, lines 5–14), although Kātyāyana (*Vt*. III on P. 1.1.45) leaves room for both possibilities. In fact, both the *vākya*–view and the *varṇa*–view are correct, and we need them both, as stated above, in connection with *bhūta* and *bhāvin*.

It is in this connection that Patañjali offers a well known illustration taken from daily life. Suppose one goes to a weaver and tells him to weave a piece of clothing of these threads. The weaver, who apparently has an inclination for logic, considers : if it is a piece of clothing it cannot be woven, and if it is still to be woven, it cannot be a piece of clothing. Being a piece of clothing and being still to be woven is a contradiction. In fact, what the customer has in mind is the future name to be given to the threads. He thinks of what is still to be woven as that which, after it has been woven, becomes that piece of clothing. Similarly, that *iK*–vowel comes in the place of a *yaṆ*–phoneme which once it has been produced will have the name of *saṃprasāraṇa*. This is how Patañjali interprets Pāṇini. In grammar such a name is known as a *bhāvinī saṃjñā* 'future name'.

6. Consider the counterexample *vimaladyu* 'having a clear sky' (sg. nom. ntr.). The derivation is as follows :

(1) *vimaladiv* + *sU*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *vimaladiv* + 0	P. 7.1.23
(3) *vimaladiu*	P. 6.1.131
(4) *vimaladyu*	P. 6.1.77
vimaladyu.	

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Now, in the sequence *vimaladyu iti*, if the *u* of *-dyu* had been called *saṃprasāraṇa* by P. 6.1.131, the *i* of *iti* would have to be deleted by P. 6.1.108. This, however is not desired. It has been prevented, because the replacement of *v* by *u* in *div* is not occasioned by the use of the term *saṃprasāraṇa* in P. 6.1.131.

7. An example quoted by the *KV* is *gṛhītam* 'seized' (sg. nom. ntr.). It is derived as follows :

(1) *grah-*		*Dhātup.* 9.61
(2) *grah*	+ *Kta*	P. 3.2.102
(3) *grah*	+ *ta* + *sU*	P. 4.1.2
(4) *gṛh*	+ *ta* + *s*	P. 6.1.15; 6.1.108
(5) *gṛh* + *ī*	+ *ta* + *s*	P. 7.2.35; 7.2.37
(6) *gṛh* + *ī*	+ *ta* + *am*	P. 7.1.24
(7) *gṛh* + *ī*	+ *tam*	P. 6.1.107
gṛhītam.		

In stage (4), the replacement of *r* by the vowel *ṛ* is occasioned by the term *saṃprasāraṇa*, which is continued in P. 6.1.15. Therefore the replacing vowel *ṛ* is called *saṃprasāraṇa*. That is why P. 6.1.108 which contains the term *saṃprasāraṇa* can become applicable.

1.1.46 ĀDYANTAU ṬAKITAU '(an element) having *Ṭ* (as its tag-letter) or (an element) having *K* (as its tag-letter) (is considered to be) the initial (part) or the final (part) respectively, (of the element for which they have been prescribed)'.

1. This rule is not a *saṃjñāsūtra*, because it does not define a technical term used henceforward in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is a *paribhāṣā*, a rule which lays down a grammatical convention of interpretation of rules valid throughout the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. See *SA* No. 5 and Note (6), where the essentials have been stated.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and a new *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. The *KV* following Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 114, lines 9-10) explains that the elements marked with *Ṭ* or *K* are to be added to an element mentioned in the genitive in the rule prescribing the *Ṭit* or *Kit* element.

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4. Technically, the elements marked with *Ṭ* or *K* are known as *āgama* 'augment'. The term *āgama* is not used by Pāṇini. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 112, line 25) says *āgamaś ca nāmāpūrvaḥ śabdopajanaḥ* 'and an *āgama* is the new addition of a linguistic element'. In fact, an *āgama* is a word-building element which has no lexical or grammatical meaning. See *PASPA* fn. 190.

5. It goes without saying that suffixes (*pratyayas*) may also be marked with *K* or *Ṭ*. But then how are we to distinguish them from augments? One method is to distinguish them according to meaning. Suffixes convey a grammatical meaning. Augments do not convey any meaning at all. But there is another way also, which has to do with the organization of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Suffixes are dealt with in the section headed by P. 3.1.1 (*pratyayaḥ*) and which continues up to the end of the fifth *adhyāya*. Augments are prescribed outside this section.

6. The example for an element marked with *Ṭ* in the *KV* is *iṬ*. It is used in deriving the form *lavitā* 'he will mow'. The derivation is as follows :

(1)	*lū–*				*Dhātup.* 9.13
(2)	*lū*			+ *lUṬ*	P. 3.3.15
(3)	*lū*	+ *tāsI*		+ *lUṬ*	P. 3.1.33
(4)	*lū*	+ *tās*		+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*lū*	+ *tās*		+ *Ḍā*	P. 2.4.85
(6)	*lū* + *iṬ*	+ *tās*		+ *ā*	P. 7.2.35
(7)	*lū* + *i*	+ *t°*		+ *ā*	P. 6.4.143
(8)	*lO* + *i*	+ *t*		+ *ā*	P. 7.3.84
(9)	*lav* + *i*	+ *t*		+ *ā*	P. 6.1.78
	lavitā.				

7. The example for an element marked with *K* in the *KV* is *ṣUK*. It is used in deriving the form *bhīṣayate*, as in *muṇḍo bhīṣayate* 'the bald one frightens'. The derivation is as follows :

(1)	*bhī–*					*Dhātup.* 3.2
(2)	*bhī*		+ *ṆiC*			P. 3.1.26
(3)	*bhī* + *ṣUK*	+ *i*				P. 7.3.40
(4)	*bhī* + *ṣ*	+ *i*			+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.3.123
(5)	*bhī* + *ṣ*	+ *i*			+ *ta*	P. 3.4.78
(6)	*bhī* + *ṣ*	+ *i*	+ *ŚaP*		+ *ta*	P. 3.1.68
(7)	*bhī* + *ṣ*	+ *i*	+ *a*		+ *te*	P. 3.4.79
(8)	*bhī* + *ṣ*	+ *e*	+ *a*		+ *te*	P. 7.3.84
(9)	*bhī* + *ṣ*	+ *ay*	+ *a*		+ *te*	P. 6.1.78
	bhīṣayate.					

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8. Clearly, a beginning and an end, an initial and a final, require something a linguistic form, of which they form part. This linguistic form will be stated in a rule in the genitive. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 114, lines 14–15) says *ādyantau ṣaṣṭhyarthau* 'an initial and a final are meanings of the genitive ending'. That is to say, for the statement of the word to which they belong, they require a genitive case. For instance, P. 7.2.35 says *ārdhadhātukasya iṭ...* 'of an *ārdhadhātuka*–suffix there is (the augment) *iṬ*', and P. 7.3.40 says *bhiyaḥ ṣuk* 'of (the verbal base) *bhī*– there is (the augment) *ṣUK*'. Thus the rules prescribing these augments marked with *Ṭ* and *K* always contain forms showing a genitive ending. Since here a genitive ending is used, it must come under the control of P. 1.1.49 (see *Vt.* III on P. 1.1.46). As a result, the genitive ending would have to be interpreted in the sense of *sthāne* 'in the place of'. But augments are not meant to replace a linguistic element; they are to be added to that element. The relation they entertain with the linguistic element for which they have been prescribed is an *avayavāvayavibhāva* 'part–whole relation', not a *sthānyādeśabhāva* 'original–substitute relation'. To indicate this *avayavāvayavibhāva*, a genitive ending must be used. There is no other way, because otherwise the expression would be unintelligible (*Vt.* IV on P. 1.1.46). Therefore the genitive ending used in rules prescribing augments cannot come under P. 1.1.49 and must be considered as an exception to this rule. Therefore P. 1.1.46 also, which lays down the convention regarding the augments marked with *Ṭ* and *K* is considered to be an exception to P. 1.1.49, since both rules find their application in the domain of the genitive case ending.

This leads to another point. As a matter of principle of organization, in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* a general rule (*utsarga*) is stated first, whereas the special rule or exception (*apavāda*) comes after. But P. 1.1.46, like P. 1.1.47–48, which requires a genitive case ending in a sense different from the one laid down by P. 1.1.49, precedes the general rule. Why this reversal of the usual order ? The reason must be as follows : P. 1.1.49–59 form a connected whole dealing with substitution. If P. 1.1.46–48 had been introduced after P. 1.1.49 as exceptions, this would have constituted a break in the logical order. To avoid this, P. 1.1.46–48 have been put before P. 1.1.49.

9. Generally speaking, we can say that Pāṇini works with the help of four operational techniques, namely, suffixation, augmentation, accentuation and substitution (including deletion – a zero is also a substitute). These are the techniques applied in the *prakriyā*. On the other hand, for the interpretation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the tools are *saṃjñā*, *paribhāṣā* (including conflict-procedure)

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and *anuvṛtti* (including *adhikāra*). Out of these latter three, *anuvṛtti* (including *adhikāra*) decides the form of a rule, whereas *saṃjñā and paribhāṣā* are helpful for its interpretation.

Pāṇini has not stated all of the interpretative principles applied in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Those which hold in grammar only, he formulated explicitly. But there are many others which have an application outside grammar, like the *utsarga-apavāda* relation, the *antaraṅga-bahiraṅga* relation. These Pāṇini assumes to be known, just like many of the terms he uses, e. g. *śabda*, *jāti*, *anusvāra*, *vartamāna*, *bhūta*, etc. In this connection reference may be made to Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 114, line 24 p. 115, line 2) who says *naiveśvara ājñāpayati nāpi dharmasūtrakārāḥ paṭhanty apavādair utsargā bādhyantām iti. Kiṃ tarhi. Laukiko 'yaṃ, dṛṣṭāntaḥ. Loke hi saty api saṃbhave bādhanaṃ bhavati* ' not even God ordains nor do the *dharmasūtra*-authors state that general rules must be blocked by special rules. Then what ? There is this illustration taken from daily life. Because also when there is a possibility (of simultaneous application) in daily life, blocking happens '. Then follows the well-known *brāhmaṇakauṇḍiṇyanyāya*. Later on, grammarians were of the opinion that Pāṇini must have assumed these *paribhāṣās* on the basis of a *jñāpaka*-procedure.

1.1.47 MID ACO 'NTYĀT PARAḤ ' (an element) having *M* as its tag-letter (is to be inserted) after the last vowel '.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*. See under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and a new *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi- Bhate, 1984, p. 271 convention 4.

What is meant by *it* is defined by P. 1.3.2-9. The word *Mit* is a *saṃjñā* ' technical term ' freely formed on the pattern of a *bv* cp.

4. Technically, the element marked with *M* mentioned by the present rule is known as *āgama* ' augment '. See under P. 1.1.46, notes 4 and 5.

5. The *KV* explains the form *acaḥ* as a genitive used in the sense of *nirdhāraṇa* ' singling out ', for which see *TA*, Note (96). The *KV* also says that the singular number in *acaḥ* is to be taken as a *jātyekavacana* ' a singular denoting genus '. Accordingly, *acaḥ* is interpreted as *acāṃ madhye* ' among vowels '.

Why this round-about interpretation for what seems to be a simple ablative governed by *paraḥ* ? The reason is that tradition takes *antyaḥ ac*

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'the last vowel' to imply that the last element of the form concerned must be a vowel. Now the difficulty is that the augment *nUM* prescribed by P. 7.1.59 cannot be added to *muc–*, because this verbal base ends in a consonant, not in a vowel. It is to remove this difficulty, that tradition has recourse to *nirdhāraṇaṣaṣṭhī* and *jātyekavacana*. But obviously the implication assumed by tradition is far fetched.

6. Like in the case of P. 1.1.46, the prescription of *Mit* by P. 1.1.47 requires the forms in connection with which the *Mit* augment is introduced to be put in the genitive. Here the genitive ending has a sense other than the one laid down by P. 1.1.49. Therefore P. 1.1.47 also, which lays down the convention regarding the augments marked with *M*, is considered to be an exception to P. 1.1.49, since both rules find their application within the domain of the genitive case ending.

7. Two of the examples quoted by the *KV* are *viruṇaddhi* 'he obstructs' and *payāṃsi* 'waters' (pl. nom.). Their derivation is as follows :

A.	(1)	*rudhIR*		*Dhātup.* 7.1
	(2)	*vi* + *rudh*		
	(3)	*vi* + *rudh*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
	(4)	*vi* + *rudh*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
	(5)	*vi* + *ru–ŚnaM–dh*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.78; 1.1.47
	(6)	*vi* + *runadh*	+ *dhi*	P. 8.2.40
	(7)	*vi* + *ruṇadh*	+ *dhi*	P. 8.4.2
	(8)	*vi* + *ruṇad*	+ *dhi*	P. 8.4.53
		viruṇaddhi.		
B.	(1)	*payas*	+ *Jas*	P. 4.1.2
	(2)	*payas*	+ *Śi*	P. 7.1.20
	(3)	*paya–nUM–s*	+ *i*	P. 7.1.72; 1.1.47
	(4)	*payāns*	+ *i*	P. 6.4.10
	(5)	*payāṃs*	+ *i*	P. 8.3.24
		payāṃsi.		

1.1.48 ECA IG GHRASVĀDEŚE 'in the place of *eC* (–diphthongs) an *iK* (–vowel comes) when (the question is of) replacement by a short vowel'.

This is a *paribhāṣā*. See under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and a new *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271 convention 4.

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3. For the interpretation of *ecaḥ* P. 1.1.49 is applied. In *ig ghrasvā...* P. 8.2.39 and P. 8.4.62 have been applied.

4. It seems probable that the present rule has been inserted into the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, although at a pre-Kātyāyana date. Reasons for this assumption are the following :

a. The rule shows no connection with either the preceding or the following rule.

b. The *Vārttikakāra* in *Vts* III and IV on the present rule argues that P. 1.1.48 is redundant, and that we can manage by P. 1.1.50. *Vt.* III points out that we can have the replacement of the diphthongs *e* and *o* by an *iK*-vowel, because the *iK*-vowel has a similar place of articulation. *Vt.* IV points out that in the diphthongs *ai* and *au* the *i*-portion and the *u*-portion dominate anyway, Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 118, lines 2-3) provides a nice illustration. It says *brāhmaṇagrāma ānīyatām ity ucyate. Tatra cāvarataḥ pañcakārukī bhavati* 'it is said "let the brahmin-village be brought". But in that (village) on the lower side, lives (also) the group of the five artisans'. That is to say, in spite of the presence of *cāṇḍālas* the village is still called a brahmin-village, because brahmins are the dominating caste. Similarly, in *ai* and *au* the dominating portion which only is to be taken into account is the *i* and the *u*.

c. The strictly Pāṇinian formulation of the rule would have been *eca ig ghrasve*. That is to say, *hrasve kartavye ecaḥ ik bhavati* 'when shortening is to be applied, an *Ik*-vowel comes in the place of an *eC*-diphthong'. Pāṇini would not use the word *ādeśe* redundantly, as it is used in P. 1.1.48.

d. In the *pratyāhāra*, 'comprehensive designation', *iK*, the inclusion of the vowels *ṛ* and *ḷ* is redundant. When only *i* and *u* are intended, Pāṇini uses *yū*, as in P. 1.4.3 and 6.4.77.

e. All examples for P. 1.1.48 concern cps. The rule therefore appears to belong in the *samāsa*-section. But the *samāsa*-section itself is probably a later addition to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. See Joshi-Roodbergen, 'The Structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in Historical Perspective', *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Studies in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, 1983, p. 59-61.

5. Among the examples quoted by the *KV* are *atiri* 'exceeding one's riches' (sg. nom. ntr.) and *upagu* 'near the cow'. The derivation is as follows :

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A. (1) ((ati + sU) + (rai + am)) + sU *Vt.* X on P. 2.2.18
(2) ((ati + °) + (rai + °)) + s P. 2.4.71
(3) (ati + ri) + s P. I.2.47; 1.1.48
(4) atiri + ° P. 7.1.23
atiri.

Here, in stage (3) the diphthong *ai* must be shortened. *Ai* is a diphthong containing the components *a* and *i*. To have shortening, we can replace the *ai* by either short *a* or by short *i*. The idea is that to have the desired replacement by *i*, recourse must be had to P. 1.1.48.

B. (1) ((upa + sU) + (go + Ńas)) + sU P. 2.1.6
(2) ((upa + °) + (go + °)) + s P. 2.4.71
(3) (upa + gu) + s P. 1.2.48; 1.1.48
(4) upagu + ° P. 7.1.23
upagu.

In stage (3), the diphthong to be shortened is *o*. Since it contains both *a* and *u*, we can replace *o* by either *a* or *u*. The idea is again that, to have the desired replacement by *u*, recourse must be had to P. 1.1.48.

1.1.49 ṢAṢṬHĪ STHĀNEYOGĀ '(a word ending in) the sixth case ending is to be connected with (the word) *sthāne* " in the place " '.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*. See under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and a new *vidheya* the earlier subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271 convention 4.

3. For the interpretation of *ṣaṣṭhī* as *ṣaṣṭhyanta* '(a word) ending in the sixth case ending ' apply *PN*, *pb*. 23.

4. Patañjali (*Mbh*. I, p. 118, lines 6–7) offers two analyses of the cp. *sthāneyogā*. The first is *sthāne yogo 'syāḥ* 'that (sixth case ending which is to be) connected as *sthāne* " in the place ". Here the locative ending has not been deleted because of *nipātana* '(statement of) a ready-made form '. The second analysis is *sthānena yogo 'syāḥ* 'that (sixth case ending which is to be) connected with (the word) *sthāna* " the place " '. How *sthānena* could become *sthāne* in the cp ? Patañjali does not explain. Presumably, this is another case of *nipātana*.

Later on (*Mbh*. I, p. 111 line 1) Patañjali mentions still another explanation. Here the cp. *sthāne–yogā* is taken as a wordgroup, namely, *sthāne*

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'yogā', an instance of *abhinihitasandhi*. The word *ayogā* is explained as *avyaktayogā* 'possessing / denoting an undefined relation'. As is known the meaning of the genitive case is often defined as relation in general. Thus *ṣaṣṭhī sthāne 'yogā* is taken to mean that the genitive case ending, which conveys the sense of undefined relation, (in grammar) denotes the sense of *sthāna* 'place'. Here *sthāne* represents a locative used to indicate a meaning, ingenious, but far-fetched.

5. Usually, P. 1.1.49 is interpreted to mean that the sixth (= genitive) ending denotes the meaning *sthāne* 'in the place of'. But this is not what the rule says.

Words, like sentences and phrases, have meaning and can be used to refer to something. With the help of meaning as listed in the dictionaries words may refer to what is not a word. But, in addition, words may be used to refer to other words, and words may be used to refer to themselves (self-reference). We may express this by saying that statements may be made on two levels, a meaning (non-word)-level and a word-level. As is known, in Sanskrit grammar words refer to their own form, in other words, they refer to themselves.

The difference between the translation of P. 1.1.49 given above and the traditional interpretation is that the latter interpretation takes into account the meaning-level. It says that the meaning of the genitive case ending is 'in the place of'. The translation adopted above, however, takes into account the word-level. It says that a word in the genitive case in a Pāṇini-sūtra is to be connected with the word *sthāne* 'in the place'. It follows that here the cp. constituent *sthāne* is regarded as a quotation form. It also follows that this form *sthāne* in the cp. represents an instrumental form, in order to account for the semantic connection with the other cp. constituent *yoga*. See further under P. 1.1.50, note 3.

It may also be noted that the word *yukta* is used 15 times in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, usually as a cp. constituent. It invariably indicates connection with a word or a word-element. Apart from P. 1.1.49, the word *yoga* is used 14 times in the *Aṣṭādhāyī*, usually as a cp. constituent. With the exception of three Pāṇini-sūtras (P. 2.2.28; 3.4.20; 5.4.126) it indicates connection with a word or a word-element.

6. Then how does P. 1.1.49 operate? Take P. 6.1.77, *iko yaṇ aci*. Here the word *ikaḥ* which is *ṣaṣṭhyanta* is to be connected with the word *sthāne*. That gives us *ikaḥ sthāne yaṇ* (etc.). It means: in the place of an

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iK (–vowel comes) a *yaṆ* (–phoneme). The genitive meaning 'of' is obtained from *ikaḥ*, whereas *sthāne* means 'in the place'. But, according to the usual interpretation of P. 1.1.49, the form *ikaḥ* itself is taken to mean 'in the place of an *ik* (–vowel)', which is rather absurd.

7. As stated by *Vt.* II on P. 1.1.49 there is no chance of this rule becoming applicable, when the genitive case ending denotes the sense of a part (*avayava*). The reason is that in such a case the meaning denoted is not subject to doubt. Consider P. 6.4.89, *ūd upadhāyā gohaḥ* 'ū comes in the place of the penultimate (guṇated *u* = *o*) of *goḥ* (etc.)'. Here the mention of *upadhā* 'penultimate' determines the sense of the genitive ending in *gohaḥ* as that of a part. It cannot be otherwise.

8. It goes without saying that P. 1.1.49 does not apply to ordinary language genitives, like the one used in *tasya apatyam* 'his descendant' (P. 4.1.92).

9. The *KV*, taking its clue from Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 126, line 17; *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* III on P. 1.1.51) explains that the word *sthāna* used as *sthāne* in the present rule stands for *prasaṅga* 'possibility, occasion'. The example (only found in the *KV*) is *darbhāṇāṃ sthāne śaraiḥ prastaritavyam* 'when there is a possibility for (spreading) *darbha* grass, (then) *śara* grass is to be spread'. Here *sthāne* is understood in the sense of *prasaṅge*. The example quoted by the *KV* reminds us of the examples provided by Patañjali in a different context (*Mbh.* I, p. 137, lines 9–11, on *Vt.* XIII on P. 1.1.56): *upādhyāyasya sthāne śiṣya ity ucyate na ca tatropādhyāyo bhūtapūrvo bhavati* 'it is said *upādhyāyasya sthāne śiṣyaḥ* "the pupil instead of the teacher". But here it is not the case that the teacher was there previously', and *somasya sthāne pūtikaṭṛṇāny abhiṣuṇuyād ity ucyate na ca tatra somo bhūtapūrvo bhavati* 'it is said *somasya sthāne pūtikaṭṛṇāny abhiṣuṇuyāt* "instead of *soma* one should press *pūtika*-stalks". But here it is not the case that *soma* was there previously'. Obviously, in Patañjali's days the *soma*–tradition had already been lost.

How exactly the example quoted by the *KV* is to be understood will be made clear below. In the same way, in P. 2.4.52, *aster bhūḥ*, we understand that whenever there is a possibility of using the verbal base *as*– 'to be' we will use the base *bhū*– instead, provided that an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix (P. 2.4.35) follows.

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Why this statement by the *KV*? The point made here is discussed in *STHĀNI*, Pt. I, notes (30) and (38). The basic issue at stake here is the *Mīmāṁsā* doctrine of the *nityatva* 'permanence' of words and speechsounds, which does not accept *utpatti* 'origination' and *vināśa* 'destruction/removal' of linguistic elements. This may be explained as follows. The meaning of the genitive case ending in grammar is traditionally interpreted as 'in the place of'. But there is an alternative traditional interpretation, namely, 'instead of.' The difference between these two interpretations is this. In the first interpretation, an item *X* was there. It has been subsequently removed by item *Y*. We express this by saying that *Y* has come in the place of *X*. In the second interpretation we have an option between *X* and *Y*. But we stipulate that whenever there is a chance for *X*, the item *Y* should be selected. We express this by saying that *Y* comes instead of *X*. This is what is meant by *prasaṅga*. There was a possibility for *X*, but, instead, the other item has been selected. In this interpretation the question of removing *X* from its place and subsequently installing *Y* does not arise. That is how, on the word–level, the *nityatva* of words and speechsounds is saved.

Let us return to P. 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, and take the example *dadhi ānaya* 'bring curds'. When P. 6.1.77 is applied, in the first interpretation we will say that the *i* of *dadhi* is removed and that *y* has taken its place. But, according to the second interpretation, what we have is an option : *dadhi ānaya* or *dadhy ānáya*. Here, by applying P. 6.1.77, one opts for *dadhy ānaya* instead of for *dadhi ānaya*. There is no *iK* which has been removed by *yaṆ*. As explained by Pātañjali, the only change which takes place is a conceptual one (*Mbh.* I, p. 137, lines 13–14, where the word *kāryavipariṇāma* in *Vt.* XIV on P. 1.1.56 is explained as *kāryā buddhiḥ sā vipariṇamyate* 'the notion to be formed, that (only) is changed', as distinct from a change in non-notional, linguistic reality).

Back to the example *darbhāṇāṃ sthāne*, etc. offered by the *KV*. Here the idea is not that the *darbha* grass is removed to give way to *śara*–grass, but that we have an option between the use of *darbha* grass and *śara*–grass. In such a case, according to the presription, we use *śara*–grass.

Probably the second interpretation is not intended by Pāṇini. It may be assumed that this was only introduced into grammar at a later stage under the influance of Mīmāṁsā, especially by Patañjali.

1.1.50 STHĀNE 'NTARATAMAḤ '(a substitute coming) in the place (of an original should be) the nearest'.

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1. This is a *paribhāṣā* which serves to impose a *niyama* 'restriction' with regard to possible substitutes (*Mbh.* I, p. 120, line 20). For *paribhāṣā* see under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. In the present rule the words (*sthāninaḥ*) *sthāne* (*ādeśaḥ*) represent the *uddeśya*, whereas *antaratamaḥ* represents the *vidheya*. The translation is given accordingly.

The previous subject and predicate items, which are different, have been discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4. In P. 1.1.49 the item *sthāneyogā* represents the *vidheya*.

The words *sthānin* and *ādeśa* are supplied on the basis of the general *sthānin–ādeśa* context indicated by the word *sthāne*.

3. The word *sthāne* is continued in the next rules up to P. 1.1.55 inclusive. It serves as a general condition indicating the domain in which the rules concerned become applicable. It is cancelled on the basis of *sāmarthya*, that is, because its continuation further does not make sense. Compare Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 45–46.

Should the word *sthāne* be taken as an *adhikāra* 'section heading' and should P. 1.1.50 be read, accordingly, as two rules, (a) *sthāne*, (b) *antaratamaḥ*? Tradition from Kātyāyana (*Vt.* I on P. 1.1.50) onwards has read *sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ* as one rule. In addition, we note that in the case of possible *adhikāra* items stated in the locative, the practice of the *KV* in dividing the *saṃhitāpāṭha* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* into separate rules is not consistent. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 187–188. In the third place, it may be pointed out that the section concerned would be a small one, consisting of six rules only, including *antaratamaḥ* as a separate rule. Therefore, what more benefit could we derive from the assumption that *sthāne* is an *adhikāra*, that is, a grouping device, than from assuming that it is simply continued in a relatively small number of rules?

4. Patañjali's interpretation of P. 1.1.51 is not different from the one given above. But, apart from this, he wants to extract an additional meaning from P. 1.1.51 in order to justify the examples *cetā* 'one who observes/he will observe' and *stotā* 'one who praises/he will praise' (*Mbh.* I, p. 120, lines 8–11). The difficulty and the solution envisaged by Patañjali are as follows. When in the derivation of the forms quoted *guṇa* is to be applied by P. 7.3.84, the *antaratama* substitutes are either *e/o* or *a*. The phonemes *e* and *o*, which are *guṇa*, share the *sthāna* 'place of articulation' with *i* and *u*. But the

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phoneme *a*, which is also *guṇa*, shares the *pramāṇa* 'vowel-quantity' with *i* and *u*. Now which is *antaratama*? To decide this issue and to give more weight to *e* and *o*, which are desired, Patañjali reenterprets P. 1.1.50. He brings in one more word *sthāne*, taken from P. 1.1.49 by way of *anuvṛtti*, and assumes that this word *sthāne* –in fact, the cp. constituent *sthāne*– represents the instrumental case. That gives us the following : *sthāne* (*na*) *sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ* 'when the question is of *sthāne* "in the place" (and when there are several possible substitutes) the nearest one (is decided) on the basis of *sthāna* "place of articulation"'. Compare also *PN. pb.* 13, which, according to Nāgeśa, is based on the assumption that *sthāne* has been repeated in P. 1.1.50.

What would be the Pāṇinian procedure here? P. 1.1.9 defines the *savarṇa*–quality of a speech sound mainly with the help of the place of articulation and of *ābhyantaraprayatna* 'supraglottal articulatory effort'. If, for some reason, this does not work, then we may take the help of *bāhyaprayatna* 'glottal and infraglottal articulatory effort' and *pramāṇa* 'vowel-quantity', etc. Therefore, Patañjali's idea is to be rejected, and consequently, his interpretation of P. 1.1.50 is also to be rejected. But then, still, how to interpret the word *sthāne* in this rule?

In the translation of P. 1.1.49 it is assumed that the cp. constituent *sthāne* stands for its own form. That is to say, *sthāne* here is a quotation form. Being a quotation form, it appears as *sthāne* in the cp. Actually, it represents an instrumental, as required by the constituent *yoga*. But when the question is of quotation forms, case endings are not added. Suppose *sthāne* in P. 1.1.49 is an independent word, then, if the instrumental ending *Ṭā* would be added, the result would be *sthānay–ā*, a form which is practically unintelligible. Tradition acknowledges this by speaking of *avibhaktiko nirdeśaḥ* 'mention without (the addition of) a case ending'.

However, in P. 1.1.50 *sthāne* is not a quotation form, but a condition indicating the domain in which the rule becomes applicable. As stated under 2, it implies the presence of a *sthānin* 'original' and of an *ādeśa* 'substitute'. Therefore the Sanskrit paraphrase of *sthāne* is *sthāninaḥ sthāne jāyamāna ādeśaḥ* 'a substitute originating in the place of an original'. This is to form the *uddeśya* or part of it in the next rules up to P. 1.1.55 inclusive.

5. As stated by the *KV*, *āntarya* 'nearness' is decided according to four criteria, *sthāna* 'place of articulation', *artha* 'meaning', *guṇa* 'articulatory quality' and *pramāṇa* 'vowel-quantity'.

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One example for *sthāna* given by the *KV* is *daṇḍāgram* 'the end of a stick', to be derived from *daṇḍa* + *agra*. Here P. 6.1.101 prescribes single substitution by the corresponding (*savarṇa*) long vowel. Sanskrit knows four long vowels, *ā*, *ī*, *ū* and *ṝ*. Out of these, the *ā* is selected on the basis of a shared *sthāna*.

An example for *artha*, not mentioned by the *KV*, is *padbhyām* 'with both feet', to be derived from *pāda* + *bhyām*. Here P. 6.1.63 which states substitutes only, without the *sthānin* 'original', mentions *pad*. Since *pad* means 'foot' the nearest *sthānin* can only be *pāda*, which has the same meaning. So, in this case *āntarya* is decided on the basis of *artha*.

Why is not *padbhyām* derived form *caraṇa* + *bhyām*, since *caraṇa* also is a synonym of *pad*? This goes to show that in deciding replacement on the basis of meaning, phonetic shape is also to be taken into account.

An example for *guṇa*, not mentioned by the *KV*, is the unconnected wordgroup *vāg ghariḥ* 'word, hari', to be derived from *vāk hariḥ*, or after the application of P. 8.2.39, from *vāg hariḥ*. Here P. 8.4.62 says that the initial *h* is to be replaced by the *savarṇa* speechsound of the preceding phoneme. The *g* has four *savarṇa* speechsounds. Out of these, the *gh* is selected on the basis of *guṇa*, because only the *gh* shares the qualities *ghoṣa* 'voice' and *mahāprāṇa* 'aspiration' with the original *h*.

An example for *pramāṇa* quoted by the *KV* is *amūbhyām* 'by those two', to be derived as follows :

(1)	*adas* + *bhyām*	P. 4.1.2
(2)	*adaa* + *bhyām*	P. 7.2.102
(3)	*ada* + *bhyām*	P. 6.1.97
(4)	*adā* + *bhyām*	P. 7.3.102
(5)	*amū* + *bhyām*	P. 8.2.80
	amūbhyām.	

From P. 1.1.69 we learn that the speech-sounds included in the comprehensive designation *aṆ* stand for their *savarṇa* varieties also. Accordingly, we take the *u* mentioned in P. 8.2.80 to represent the long *ū* also. Now the point is that in stage (4) the form *adā* shows a long vowel *ā*. That is why, on the basis of *pramāṇa*, in stage (5) the long *ū* is selected as a replacement.

A corresponding example for *pramāṇa*, not quoted by the *KV*, is *amum* 'that' (sg. acc. masc.). It is derived as follows :

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(1) *adas* + *am*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *adaa* + *am*	P. 7.2.102
(3) *ada* + *am*	P. 6.1.97
(4) *adam*	P. 6.1.107
(5) *amum*	P. 8.2.80
amum.	

Here the point is that in stage (4) the form *adam* shows a short second *a*. That is why, on the basis of *pramāṇa*, in stage (5) the short *u* is selected as a replacement.

1.1.51 UR AṆ RAPARAḤ '(a vowel included in the *pratyāhāra* " comprehensive designation ") *aṆ* (coming) in the place of *ṛ* is followed by *r* (at the same time)'.

1. This is a *vidhisūtra*, that is, a rule simply prescribing a grammatical operation on given linguistic elements. It is not a rule which is helpful for the interpretation of other rules.

2. Strictly speaking, the condition *sthāne* from P. 1.1.50 is not required in the present rule, because we can have it from the genitive from *uḥ* anyway. So here, whether we continue *sthāne* or discontinue *sthāne*, it does not make a difference. By convention 1 in Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, *sthāne* could even continue without a purpose, since it is not cancelled by an incompatible item in the locative.

Another solution would be to assume that P. 1.1.51 is an associative digression, for which see Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 197.

In P. 1.1.51 the *uddeśya* is *uḥ sthāne 'ṇ*, whereas the *vidheya* is *raparaḥ*.

3. Why has this rule been put here? The reason is that the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* vowels *a* and *ā* replacing *ṛ* are not *antaratama* 'nearest', in respect of their place of articulation, in relation to the original *ṛ*. The vowels *a* and *ā* are *kaṇṭhya* 'produced in the throat', that is, guttural, whereas *ṛ* is *mūrdhanya* 'produced behind the alveolar ridge (by curling the tip of the tongue back)', that is, retroflex. But P. 1.1.51 tells us that when *a*/*ā* replace *ṛ*, they are virtually *ar*/*ār*. This is how *a*/*ā* become *antaratama* with regard to *ṛ*.

4. Tradition (see the three alternative views regarding the interpretation of the rule in the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* on the present rule) raises the question

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whether, while applying P. 1.1.51, *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* should be independently applied first, and *r* is added only subsequently. This is to be denied. When a linguistic element *Y* is to become the final part of an element *X*, Pāṇini's practice is to provide the mention of element *Y* with the *anubandha K*, according to P. 1.1.46. Therefore, if Pāṇini had intended the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* to be applied independently, and the *r* to be added subsequently only, as an augment, he would have phrased P. 1.1.51 as *ur aṇo rak* 'of *aṆ* (coming) in the place of *ṛ* (there is the augment) *r*'. Here *aṇaḥ* is to be taken as a genitive indicating a part–whole relation. Since P. 1.1.51 has not been phrased in this way, we conclude that the *guṇa/vṛddhi* operation and the addition of *r* are meant to take place at the same time. Accordingly, the third view mentioned by the *Nyāsa* in this context is the correct one. It says *uḥ sthāne lakṣaṇāntareṇa vidhīyamāno 'ṇ vidhānakāla eva tena lakṣaṇāntareṇa saha saṃhatya raparatvaviśiṣṭo 'nena bhāvyate* '*aṆ* being prescribed by another rule (than P. 1.1.51) in the place of *ṛ*, having united with that other rule at the time of prescription only, is produced by that (other rule) as qualified by being followed by *r*'. This is also what is meant by the *KV* (following Patañjali on *Vt.* III on P. 1.1.51; *Mbh.* I, p. 126, lines 15–16) where it says: *uḥ sthāne 'ṇ prasajyamāna eva raparo veditavyaḥ* '*aṆ* coming in the place of *ṛ* is to be known as being followed by *r* as soon as it (*aṆ*) becomes applicable'.

5. One of the examples quoted by the *KV* is *kirati* 'he scatters'. It is derived as follows :

(1) *kṝ*–		*Dhātup.* 6.116
(2) *kṝ*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *kṝ*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *kṝ* + *Śa*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.77
(5) *kir* + *a*	+ *ti*	P. 7.1.100 + 1.1.51
kirati.		

We note that in stage (4) the *sārvadhātuka* suffix *Śa* is *Ṅit*, by P. 1.2.4. Therefore *guṇa* is not applied, by P. 1.1.5.

On the other hand, the derivation

(5) *ki*	+ *a* + *ti*	P. 7.1.10[illegible]
(6) *kir*	+ *a* + *ti*	P. 1.1.51
kirati.		

is not allowed.

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Two more examples, not quoted by the *KV*. Consider *pūryate* 'it is filled'. It is derived as follows :

(1) *pṝ–*		*Dhātup.* 9.19
(2) *pṝ*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *pṝ*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *pṝ* + *yaK*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.67
(5) *pṝ* + *ya*	+ *te*	P. 1.3.13; 3.4.79
(6) *pur* + *ya*	+ *te*	P. 7.1.102 + 1.1.51
(7) *pūr* + *ya*	+ *te*	P. 8.2.77
pūryate.		

Here also the division of stage (6) into two stages, first the replacement of *ṝ* by *u*, and subsequently the addition of *r*, is not allowed.

Finally, consider *sarati* 'it flows' to be derived as follows :

(1) *sṛ–*		*Dhātup.* 1.982
(2) *sṛ*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *sṛ*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *sṛ* + *ŚaP*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(5) *sar* + *a*	+ *ti*	P. 7.3.84 + 1.1.51
sarati.		

Here, in stage (5) the separate application of *guṇa* by P. 7.3.84 and a subsequent addition of *r* by P. 1.1.51 is not allowed.

1.1.52 ALO 'NTYASYA '(a substitute coming in the place of an original comes) in the place of the last phoneme (of the original)'.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. In the present rule the word *sthāne* is continued from P. 1.1.50. Even if P. 1.1.51 is considered to be an associative digression, and if, accordingly, the word *sthāne* is discontinued in this rule, it would return in the next rule. The idea is that whatever has been discontinued in the associative digression returns in the next rule. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 197, and p. 277, conventions 83-84.

The words *ādeśa* 'substitute' and *sthānin* 'original' are supplied on the basis of the general *sthānin-ādeśa* context indicated by the continued word *sthāne*.

The *uddeśya* is (*sthāninaḥ*) *sthāne* (*ādeśaḥ*), whereas the *vidheya* is *alo 'ntyasya*.

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3. The translation of the rule offered above is a translation of the text of the *sūtra* in which meanings obtained by *anuvṛtti* have been supplied within brackets. There is, however, one more meaning to be supplied, not on the basis of *anuvṛtti*, but on the basis of inference. That meaning is *ekāl* '(a substitute) consisting of just one phoneme'. For the explanation see under P. 1.1.53, note 3.

4. As stated by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* on the present rule, the *KV* in its rendering of P. 1.1.52 continues P. 1.1.49 by way of *adhikāra* 'section heading rule'. Thus the *KV* arrives at the following meaning : *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭasya ya ucyate ādeśaḥ so 'ntyasyālaḥ sthāne veditavyaḥ* 'the substitute prescribed for (a linguistic item) mentioned with a genitive case ending should be known as coming in the place of the last phoneme (of the item mentioned in the genitive case)'. Against this, we note that P. 1.1.49 is discontinued in P. 1.1.50. Therefore it cannot come back in P. 1.1.52.

5. One example mentioned by the *KV* is *pañcagoṇiḥ* 'bought for five sacks' (sg. nom. masc.), mentioned by Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* I on P. 1.2.50 (*Mbh.* I, p. 226, line 3). The derivation is as follows :

(1) (((*pañcan* + *bhis*) + (*goṇī* + *bhis*)) + *ṬHaK*))) + *sU*

P. 5.1.37

(2) (((*pañcan* + °) + (*goṇī* + °)) + *ṬHaK*))) + *s*

P. 2.4.71

(3) ((*pañcan* + *goṇī*) + °)) + *s*

P. 5.1.28

(4) (*pañcan* + *goṇi*) + *s*

P. 1.2.50

(5) (*pañca* ° + *goṇi*) + *s*

P. 8.2.7

(6) *pañcagoṇi* + *rU*

P. 8.2.66

(7) *pañcagoṇi* + *ḥ*

P. 8.3.15

pañcagoṇiḥ.

The point is that in stage (4), when P. 1.2.50 is applied, the short vowel *i* prescribed by this rule might replace the whole *prātipadika goṇī*. To remove this difficulty, P. 1.1.52 has been stated. It tells us that in the domain

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of *sthāne* a substitute replaces the last phoneme only of the original mentioned in the genitive case in a Pāṇini-sūtra.

1.1.53 ṆIC CA 'also (a substitute coming in the place of an original and) marked with (the tag-letter) *Ṅ* (comes in the place of the last phoneme (of the original).'

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. In the present rule the word *sthāne* is continued from P. 1.1.50, whereas the whole rule P. 1.1.52 is also continued. In fact, *alo 'ntyasya* is a non-nominative expression which cannot be cancelled by the nominative word *ṅit*. In order to have this *anuvṛtti*, the word *ca* is not required.

The function of *ca* here is to mark the boundary with the preceding and following rules. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 278, convention 96. Accordingly, we understand that *alo 'ntyasya ṅit* is not a single rule, and that *ṅid ādeḥ parasya* is not either.

The words *ādeśa* 'substitue' and *sthānin* 'original' are supplied on the basis of the general *sthānin-ādeśa* context indicated by the continued word *sthāne*.

The *uddeśya* is (*sthāninaḥ*) *sthāne ṅid* (*ādeśaḥ*), whereas the *vidheya* is *alo 'ntyasya* continued from P. 1.1.52.

3. The translation of the rule offered above is a translation of the text of the *sūtra* in which meanings obtained by *anuvṛtti* have been supplied within brackets. There is, however, one more meaning to be supplied, not on the basis of *anuvṛtti*, but on the basis of inference. That meaning is *anekāl* '(a substitute) consisting of more than one phoneme'. The explanation is as follows :

The present rule is an exception to P. 1.1.55. In order to make this clear, we have to consider the rules P. 1.1.52, 53 and 55 in more detail.

a. P. 1.1.52 says that a substitute comes in the place of the last phoneme.

b. P. 1.1.55 says that a substitute consisting of more than one phoneme (*anekāl*) or a substitute marked with *Ś* comes in the place of the whole.

c. P. 1.1.53 says that a substitute marked with *Ṅ* comes in the place of the last phoneme.

Here c. can only make sense on the assumption that what is meant is a substitute consisting of more than one phoneme (*anekāl*), because

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otherwise it would be covered by a. Taking into account b., P. 1.1.52 can only make sense on the assumption that what is meant is a substitute consisting of just one phoneme (*ekāl*). Taking into account c. P. 1.1.55 (*anekāl*) can only make sense if what is meant is a substitute other than a substitute marked with *Ṅ* (*aṅit*).

We note that in P. 1.1.52 Pāṇini does not say *ekāl*; that in P. 1.1.55 he does not say *aṅit*; and that in P. 1.1.53 he does not say *anekāl*. But we can have all this from the *utsarga–apavāda* relation.

An *utsarga* ' general rule ' is applicable elsewhere, that is, where the *apavāda* ' special rule/exception ' does not apply. Consider P. 8.2.31. This rule says that the substitute *ḍh* comes in the place of *h* at the end of a *pada* or before a *jhaL* consonant. Then P. 8.2.32 says that the substitute *gh* comes in in the place of *h* occurring at the end of a verbal base which begins with *d*. We understand that P. 8.2.32 is an exception to P. 8.2.31. Accordingly, we understand that P. 8.2.31 applies elsewhere, that is, excluding the case of verbal bases beginning with *d*. Therefore P. 8.2.31 is taken to meau that *ḍh* comes in the place of *h* not belonging to a verbal base beginning with *d*. Although Pāṇini in P. 8.2.31 does not say *adāder dhātor ho ḍhaḥ*, still we understand this meaning from the *utsarga–apavāda* relation.

Back to P. 1.1.52, 53 and 55. We understand that P. 1.1.55 is an exception to P. 1.1.52. This is to say that P. 1.1.52 is applicable elsewhere, that is, where P. 1.1.55 does not apply. This is how we obtain the expression *ekāl* in P. 1.1.52. We understand that P. 1.1.53 is an exception to P. 1.1.55. This is to say that P. 1.1.55 is applicable elsewhere, that is, where P. 1.1.53 does not apply. This is how we obtain the expression *aṅit* in P. 1.1.55. The linguistic item referred to as *Ṅit* in P. 1.1.53 could be either *ekāl* or *anekāl*. But since an *ekal ṅit* item is already taken care of by P. 1.1.52, we infer that what is meant by P. 1.1.53 is an *anekāl ṅit* item.

In this way, three different domains of rules have been demarcated, although Pāṇini has left out the key–words (*ekāl*, *aṅit* and *anekāl*) from the rules concerned.

4. Since the logical order of the three rules involved is P. 1.1.52 (*alo 'ntyasya*), P. 1.1.55 (*anekālśit sarvasya*), P. 1.1.53 (*ṅic ca*), what could be the reason for adopting a different order, as presented in the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ? The answer is, for brevity's sake. Suppose the order of statement conformed to the logical order. In that case, *alo 'ntyasya* would be cancelled by *sarvasya* in the next rule. Then in the third rule we would have to repeat

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alo 'ntyasya again. Therefore, in general, the logical order of rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is not given, but to be obtained on the basis of reasoning.

5. One of the examples quoted by the *KV.* on the present rule is *mātāpitarau* 'father and mother'. The derivation is as follows :

(1) ((*mātṛ* + *sU*) + (*pitṛ* + *sU*)) + *au* P. 2.2.29
(2) ((*mātṛ* + °) + (*pitṛ* + °)) + *au* P. 2.4.71
(3) (*mātānAṄ* + *pitṛ*) + *au* P. 6.3.1; 6.3.25
(4) (*mātān* + *pitar*) + *au* P. 7.3.110 + 1.1.51
(5) (*mātā°* + *pitar*) + *au* P. 8.2.7
mātāpitarau.

In stage (3) the point to be noted is that the substitute *anāṄ* is *anekāl* 'consiting of more than one phoneme' and that it is *Ṅit.* Therefore, by P. 1.1.53, it comes in the place of the last phoneme only. For techninal details regarding the case ending to be added to the constituents of *dvandva* cp. see *BDA*, Notes (128) and (140).

Kātyāyana (*Vt.* I on the present rule) notes that the suffix *tātAṄ* used to derive imperative forms like *jīvatāt* 'may you live!', in spite of the fact that it is *anekāl* and *ṅit*, replaces more than just the last phoneme. In fact, it replaces the ending *tu.* However, as indicated by Kātyāyana, in *tātAṄ* the tag-letter *Ṅ* has a purpose of its own, namely, to prevent *guṇa-vṛddhi* operations, in accordance with P. 1.1.5. Therefore, since in *tātaṄ* the tag-letter *Ṅ* has a purpose other than indicating replacement of the last phoneme only, it cannot be rightly regarded as an exception to P. 1.1.53.

1.1.54 ĀDEḤ PARASYA '(a substitute coming in the place of an original which happens to be mentioned as an) immediately following (item comes) in the place of the initial (phoneme of that following item)'.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. In the present rule the word *sthāne* is continued from P. 1.1.50. The item *alaḥ* is continued from P. 1.1.52, whereas *antyasya* from the same rule is discontinued by the incompatible genitive word *ādeḥ.*

The words *ādeśa* 'substitute' and *sthānin* 'original' are supplied on the basis of the general *sthānin-ādeśa* context indicated by the continued word *sthāne.*

The *uddeśya* is (*sthāninaḥ*) *parasya sthāne* (*ādeśaḥ*), whereas the *vidheya* is *āder* (*alaḥ*).

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3. The words *ādeḥ* and *parasya* are both technical genitives in the sense prescribed by P. 1.1.49. Thus, very literally P. 1.1.54 means : a substitute which comes in the place of an item (prescribed as) following, comes in the place of the initial of that following item.

As stated by the *KV*, by 'an item (prescribed as) following' we will understand the item following, that is, immediately following after the item mentioned in the ablative case in a Pāṇini-sūtra, in accordance with P. 1.1.67.

4. The present rule is an exception to P. 1.1.52. In the latter rule, on the basis of inference, we have supplied the meaning *ekāl* '(a substitute) consisting of just one phoneme', see under P. 1.1.53, note 3. However, P. 1.1.54 is not an exception on the point of the substitute being *ekāl*, but on the point of the substitute coming in the place of the last phoneme of the original. Therefore the substitute intended by P. 1.1.54 is considered to consist of one phoneme too.

5. One example quoted by the *KV* is *āsīna* 'sitting'. The derivation is as follows :

(1) *ās–*		*Dhātup.* 2.11
(2) *ās*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *ās*	+ *ŚānaC*	P. 3.2.124
(4) *ās* + *ŚaP*	+ *āna*	P. 3.1.68
(5) *ās* + °	+ *āna*	P. 2.4.72
(6) *ās* + *āsīna.*	+ *īna*	P. 7.2.83; 1.1.67; 1.1.54

The point is that P. 7.2.83 which becomes applicable in stage (6) prescribes the substitute *īT* in connection with an item–the verbal base *ās–* mentioned in the ablative. Here the ablative ending has its technical meaning of *uttara*, that is, *para* 'immediately following'. That is to say, the grammatical operation intended, in our case the substitution, is to be performed on the item immediately following the item mentioned in the ablative case. The item mentioned in the ablative case in P. 7.2.83 is *ās–*. The item immediately following this item in the *prakriyā*, in stage (6), is *āna*. Therefore, by P. 1.1.54, the substitute *īT*, which is *ekāl*, comes in the place of the initial phoneme of *āna*.

6. Another example for P. 1.1.54 is the form *utthāna* 'standing up'. It is derived with the help of P. 8.4.61. This rule itself is worth having a look at more closely. It says : *udaḥ sthāstambhoḥ pūrvasya*. This, with the help

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of various *pbs* and of *anuvṛtti*, is to be interpreted as follows : *udaḥ parayoḥ sthāstambhor ādeḥ sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ pūrvasya savarṇa ādeśo bhavati'* the nearest substitute, homogeneous with the preceding (phoneme) comes in the place of the initial of *sthā–* or *stambh–* which (are mentioned as) following immediately after *ud'*. Note that *parasya* has been changed into *parayoḥ* (*vibhaktiviparināma*) to fit the context. Here, in order to have *parasya* / *parayoḥ* we apply P. 1.1.67; for *parasya ādeḥ sthāne* we apply P. 1.1.49 and 54; for *sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ* we apply P. 1.1.50; for *pūrvasya savarṇa* we refer to P. 8.4.58; whereas for *ādeśaḥ* we invoke the general *sthānin–ādeśa* context indicated by the word *sthāne*. Thus, for the interpretation of P. 8.4.61 four *pbs* are required.

Now for the derivation of *utthāna*. It goes as follows :

(1)	*sthā–*	*Dhātup.* 1.975
(2)	*ud* + *sthā*	
(3)	*ud* + *sthā* + *LyuṬ*	P. 3.3.113
(4)	*ud* + *sthā* + *ana*	P. 7.1.1
(5)	*ud* + *sthāna*	P. 6.1.101
(6)	*ut* + *sthāna*	P. 8.4.55
(7)	*ut* + *ththāna*	P. 8.4.61
(8)	*ut* + °*thāna*	P. 8.4.65
	utthāna.	

In stage (7) the *s* of *sthāna* is replaced by *th* as the *antaratama savarṇa* of the preceding *t*, because the *s* is both *aghoṣa* 'unvoiced' and *mahāprāṇa* 'aspirated' in Indian phonetics. We note that the rule P. 8.4.65 applied in stage (8) is optionally applied only.

In the derivation the point is that in stage (7) not the last phoneme of *sthāna* is replaced, as required by P. 1.1.52, but the initial one, as prescribed by P. 1.1.54. The reason is that by P. 8.4.61 the *para* 'immediately following' item is *sthā–*, and that, by P. 1.1.54, the substitution prescribed by P. 8.4.61 concerns the initial of the *para* item.

7. Some observations on the structure of Pāṇinian *vidhisūtras*, the peculiar way in which they have been phrased may be added. Logically, a *vidhi–* rule has a topic, an *uddeśya*, in connection with which something is prescribed, and a *vidheya*, the prescriptive part which tells us what is to be done about the *uddeśya*. We expect the *vidheya* to show mainly nominative forms which may be directly stated, or obtained by *anuvṛtti*, *adhikāra*, or by inference. The *uddeśya*, however, does not necessarily contain nominative

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forms, whether directly stated or obtained by some other means. In fact, the cases used in phrasing the *uddeśya* are mainly the ablative, the genitive and the locative.

As is known, in grammar these cases, or rather the case endings concerned, have different values. The ablative and locative serve to pinpoint a place in a linguistic sequence, whereas the genitive ending is indicative of the *sthānin*. The ablative ending refers to a preceding element, the locative ending to a following element. As regards the element named by the word in the genitive case, we may say that it occupies an intermediate position. It is the following element with reference to what precedes, and the preceding element with reference to what follows.

Consider P. 8.4.65. The *uddeśya* part of the rule says (*halo*) *jharo jhari savarṇe*. The *vidheya* part obtained by *anuvṛtti* says *lopaḥ*, a word in the nominative. But in the *uddeśya* we find successively an ablative (*halaḥ*, obtained by *anuvṛtti*) indicative of the immediately preceding element, a genitive (*jharaḥ*, representing the *sthānin*), indicative of the intermediate element, and a locative (*jhari*) indicative of the immediately following element.

In other rules, however, the *uddeśya* part may contain only two different cases. Take, for example, P. 6.1.77, *iko yaṇ aci*. Here the *vidheya* is the nominative word *yaṇ*. In the *uddeśya* part we find a genitive (*ikaḥ*, representing the *sthānin*) and a locative (*aci*) indicating the immediately following element with regard to what is mentioned by the genitive word. Or take P. 8.4.61, *udaḥ sthāstambhoḥ pūrvasya*. Here the *vidheya* is *pūrvasya* (*savarṇaḥ sa bhavati*). In the *uddeśya* part we find an ablative (*udaḥ*), indicative of a preceding element, and a genitive (*sthāstambhoḥ*, representing the *sthānin*) which happens to indicate the element which, with regard to the element mentioned by the ablative form, is the following element.

1.1.55 ANEKĀLŚIT SARVASYA (a substitute coming in the place of an original and) consisting of more than one phoneme or marked with (the tag-letter) *Ś* (comes) in the place of the whole (of the original)'.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. In the present rule the word *sthāne* is continned from P. 1.1.50. The word *ādeḥ* from P. 1.1.54 is discontinued by the incompatible genitive item *sarvasya*. The word *parasya* from P. 1.1.54 is also discontinued. In P. 1.1.54 this word represents the *uddeśya*. But in P. 1.1.55 the *uddeśya* is *anekālśit*, which is an incompatible item. The word *alaḥ* from P. 1.1.52 is discontinued, because it is incompatible with *sarvasya* in P. 1.1.55.

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The words *ādeśa* 'substitute' and *sthānin* 'original' are supplied on the basis of the general *sthānin-ādeśa* context indicated by the word *sthāne*.

The *uddeśya* is (*sthaninaḥ*) *sthāne 'nekālśit* (*ādeśaḥ*), whereas the *vidheya* is *sarvasya*.

3. Wouldn't the addition of the tag-letter *Ś* to a linguistic element turn this element into an *anekāl* element anyway? And if so, what is the point in the separate mention of *śit* in the present rule? As pointed out by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* here, we have to take into account *PN, pb.* 6, which says that linguistic elements are not considered to be *anekāl* 'consiting of more than one phoneme' on account of *anubandhas*. Therefore the element *Śi* mentioned in P. 7.1.27 is really *ekāl* 'consisting of (just) one phoneme'. That is why the separate mention of *śit* in P. 1.1.55 is necessary.

4. An example not mentioned by the *KV* is *bhūta* 'has become'. It is derived as follows :

(1) *as* –		*Dhātup.* 2.56
(2) *as*	+ *Kta*	P. 3.2.102
(3) *bhū*	+ *ta*	P. 3.4.114; 2.4.52
bhūta.		

Here the point is that the substitute *bhū* is *anekāl*. Therefore it replaces the whole of *as*, and not merely the last phoneme of this verbal base. P. 2.4.52 does not contain a word in the ablative. Therefore the question of replacing an initial does not arise.

The example for *Śit* offered by the *KV* is *kuṇḍāni* 'pitchers'. It is derived as follows :

(1) *kuṇḍa*	+ *Jas*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *kuṇḍa*	+ *Śi*	P. 7.1.20
(3) *kuṇḍa-nUM*	+ *i*	P. 7.1.72; 1.3.8; 1.3.9
(4) *kuṇḍān*	+ *i*	P. 6.4.8
kuṇḍāni.		

Here the point is that the suffix *Śi* being *Śit* replaces the whole of the *sthānin Jas*, and not just the last phoneme.

There is, however, a grammatical difficulty. According to P. 1.3.7, the palatal sound at the beginning of a suffix (*pratyaya*) is called *it*, and being *it*, it is deleted by P. 1.3.9. Now the difficulty is that *Śi* has not been mentioned in the section dealing with *pratyayas*, starting from P. 3.1.1 and ending with P. 5.4.160. Therefore, technically, *Śi* is not a *pratyaya*, and thus

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the *Ś* cannot be called *it* and be deleted. The consequence is that the element *Śi* is *anekāl* and cannot, therefore, serve as an example for *śit* in P. 1.1.55.

These are the facts. Then how to delete the *anubandha Ś* of *Śi* in order to have the desired derivation ? We will reason as follows. In stage (2), when *Śi* replaces *Jas*, *Śi* is not a *pratyaya*. Moreover, it is *anekāl*. But in stage (3), after *Śi* has replaced *Jas*, the property of *pratyayatva* which belongs to *Jas*, is transferred to *Śi* by *sthānivadbhāva* (P. 1.1.56). Only then *Śi* becomes *Śit*, properly speaking, and the relevant operations of deleting the *anubandha* can be carried out.

A genuine example for *Śit* in P. 1.1.55, not quoted by the *KV*, is *itas* ' from here '. It is derived as follows :

(1)	(*idam* + *ṄasI*) + *tasIL.*	P. 5.3.7
(2)	(*idam* + °) + *tas*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	*i* + *tas*	P. 5.3.3 + 1.3.3; 1.1.55
	itas.	

To the element *iŚ* P.1.3.3 applies directly. The point is that *anubandhas* belong to Pāṇini's *upadeśa*, and are, therefore, to be deleted before they enter into the *prakriyā*. Further, we note that *iŚ* is *Śit*. That is why P. 1.1.55 becomes applicable. Consequently, the whole of the *sthānin idam* is replaced.

1.1.56 STHĀNIVAD ĀDEŚO 'NALVIDHAU ' a substitute is treated like the original, except when a grammatical operation is conditioned by (one or more) speechsounds '.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under 1.1.3, note 1. Tradition calls it an *atideśasūtra*, ' rule of transference ' that is, a rule which transfers general properties (*Vt.* III on the present rule) of the original, the *sthānin*, to the substitute, the *ādeśa*. Usually an *atideśasūtra* contains a word ending in the suffix *vat* (see *ATA*, fn. 1).

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* (*ādeśaḥ*) and *vidheya* (*sthānivad analvidhau*) the previous subject and predicate items have been discontinued. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984 p. 271, convention 4.

3. Substitution, being a *laukika* convention, known from daily life and from other *śāstras*, like the *utsarga– apavāda* relation, need not be defined by Pāṇini. Still, he did so, because, in grammar, the *sthānin– ādeśa* relation has an important restriction, namely, *analvidhau*, and because of the exception to *analvidhau* stated by P. 1.1.57.

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4. The interpretation of the term *analvidhau* presents some difficulties, for which see *STHANI*, pt. I, fns. 4 and 5, and ibid. the discussion in *Bh.* Nos 20–41 on the present rule. Two difficulties may be mentioned here. The first concerns the question how to connect the negation in *analvidhi*, whether with *al* or with *vidhi*. In the first case, the resulting meaning is 'other than *al*'. In the second case, the resulting meaning is 'not a rule'. Here the *KV* is of the second opinion.

The second, and much more important difficulty is the question whether the constituent *al* in *alvidhi* should be taken to mean *ekāl* 'one single speechsound', or rather also *anekāl* 'more than one speechsound'. Here tradition is firm in believing that *al* stands for *ekāl* only (see *STHANI*, pt. I, *Bh.* Nos 8 and 39 on the present rule). Curiously, the *KV* does not say anything definite on this point. It merely derives the word *analvidhiḥ* in the sense of *na alvidhiḥ* 'not an *alvidhi*', and thereby leaves room for both possibilities. In the edition of the *KV* by A. Sharma and K. Deshpande (Hyderabad 1969, part I, p. 22, fn. 21, a gloss is mentioned in connection with the word *analvidhiḥ* in the accepted text, namely, *anekālvidhir ity arthaḥ* 'that is to say, not a rule (prescribing an operation) which requires one speechsound'. In this way the author of the gloss tries to impose the traditional interpretation of *alvidhi* equal to *ekālvidhi* on the *KV*.

Against tradition, as indicated in the translation given above, it is maintained that *al* in *alvidhi* stands for speechsounds whether one speechsound or more than one. See *STHANI*, Pt. I, Note (9), end, and Joshi–Roodbergen, 1985, P. 472–3. One advantage of the interpretation adopted here is that *Vts* XVIII–XXIX on P. 1.1.56 become redundant.

5. The *KV* succesively mentions examples of the application of *sthānyādeśabhāva* 'the *sthānin*–*ādeśa* relation' for derivations concerned with verbal bases, pre-suffixal stems (*aṅgas*), *kṛt*–suffixes, *taddhita*–suffixes, indeclinables, case endings, finite verb endings and finished words (*padas*). In all these instances the tenor of the argument is that the (general) property of being a verbal base, etc., belonging to the *sthānin*, is transferred to the substitute, and that, thereby, the operations desired for the substitute become available.

One example. P. 7.1.37, *samāse 'ñaṁpūrve ktvo lyap*. This rule prescribes the substitution of *LyaP* for *Ktvā* under certain conditions. That gives us forms like *prakṛ–t–ya* 'having introduced'. The suffix *Ktvā* has been prescribed as a *kṛt*–suffix by P. 3.4.21. But the suffix *LyaP* has been

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prescribed by a rule outside the *kṛt*–section. Therefore it is not a *kṛt*–suffix. Now, by virtue of P. 1.1.56, the general property of being a *kṛt*–suffix belonging to *Ḳtvā* is transferred to *LyaP*. This transference is not prohibited by the condition *analvidhau*, because the substitution does not involve specific phonemic properties, like *ac–tva* 'being a vowel', or *hal–tva* 'being a consonant'. The effect of this transference is that P. 6.1.71, which mentions the condition *kṛti* 'when a *kṛt*–suffix follows immediately', becomes applicable in the case of *LyaP* also.

Tradition distinguishes between general properties (*sāmānya*) and special properties (*viśeṣa*). As stated by Kātyāyana (*Vt.* III on the present rule) *sāmānyātideśe viśeṣānatideśaḥ* 'when (we have a statement of) transference (phrased) in generel terms, the non–transference of special properties (is implied)'. That is to say, the transference of common or general properties does not imply the transference of special properties. Special properties are those relating to the phonetic form of a linguistic item. Thus, when P. 2.4.52 prescribes the substitution of *bhū*–for *as*– before an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix, this should not be taken to imply that *as-tva* 'the properties of being *as*', that is, the special property of consisting of the phonemic sequence *a–s*, is to be transferred to *bhū*–. See further *STHANI*, Pt. I, *Bh.* No. 24 on P. 1.1.56.

One of the counterexamples mentioned by the *KV* is *dyauḥ* 'the sky' taken from Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 134, line 7). Here P. 7.1.84 prescribes the substitution of *au* for the *v* of the stem *div*. This rule being clearly concerned with speechsounds is an *alvidhi*. Therefore it comes under the prohibition *analvidhau* in P. 1.1.56. Consequently, *sthānivadbhāva* is not applied, and the property of *hal-tva* 'being a consonant' belonging to the *sthānin v* is not transferred to the substitute *au*. As a result, P. 6.1.68, which prescribes the deletion of the nominative ending *sU* after a stem ending in a consonant, does not become applicable. Thus we derive the form *dyaus*, as desired.

From the example and the counterexample it will be clear that substitution– and P. 1.1.56– pervades Pāṇinian derivation on all levels.

6. The *Padamañjarī* on the *KV* on the present rule, following the *Nyāsa*, distinguishes two types of *ādeśa* 'substitute', namely, *pratyakṣa* 'direct', that is, directly stated, and *ānumānika* 'inferential', that is, not directly stated. An example of the first type is P. 2.4.52, *aster bhūḥ*, where the *sthānin* and the *ādeśa* have been directly stated. An example of the second type is P. 3.4.86, *er uḥ*, where, as a *sthānin* and *ādeśa*, we infer *ti* and *tu*, although *i* and *u* have been directly stated. See further *STHANI*, Pt. I, Note (36).

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1.1.57 ACAḤ PARASMIN PŪRVAVIDHAU '(the substitute of a vowel, when conditioned by (a speech-element) that follows (is treated like the original vowel), when a grammatical operation is (to be applied) to (a speech-element) that immediately precedes (the substitute)'.

1. This is an exception to the prohibition stated in P. 1.1.56, *analvidhau*. By P. 1.1.57 the special, phonemic properties of the original vowel are transferred to the substitute on two conditions:

a. The substitution must be caused by a linguistic element which immediately follows the original vowel.

b. *Sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment like the original' must be applied, when the operation prescribed concerns a apeech-element which immediately precedes the substitute.

Thus, what P. 1.1.57 has in view is an immediate sequence of three speech-elements which may be indicated as P + S + F. Here P stands for the preceding element, S for the substitute and F for the following element. Now P. 1.1.57 tells us that, when the question is of applying a rule to P, the substitute S must be considered *sthānivat* 'like the original', if the substitution has been conditioned by F.

The elements indicated as P and F really belong to a stage in which the substitution leading to S is still to happen. Thus, instead of assuming a sequence indicated as P + S + F, we may rather assume a sequence P + O + F, where O stands for the original (*sthānin*) of S. This may be expressed by saying that P must be known to O. See further *STHANI*, pt. 1, Notes (93), (128) and (151).

2. The expression *sthānivad ādeśaḥ* is continued from P. 1.1.56. The word *analvidhau* in the same rule is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*, because, if *analvidhau* were continued, P. 1.1.57. would be redundant, since this rule is precisely meant for an *alvidhi* 'rule (prescribing an operation) for speechsounds'.

The *uddeśya* is *acaḥ ādeśaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*, the *vidheya* is *sthānivat*.

3. Tradition has considerable difficulty in establishing suitable examples for P. 1.1.57, and in doing so offers different interpretations of the rule. For a summary see *STHANI*, Pt. I, Note (136).

4. One difficulty lies in deciding the meaning of the constituent *pūrva* in *pūrvavidhau*. Should *pūrva* be taken in its technical sense of 'immediately

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preceding', or in its non-technical, *laukika* sense of 'preceding', whether immediately or not? Having first rejected his own suggestion that the word *pūrvavidhau* should be replaced by *aparavidhau* 'when the question is (applying) a rule to (an element) that does not follow' (*Mbh.* I, p. 143, line 19; p. 144, line 4), Patañjali precisely asks that question (*Mbh.* I, p. 147, line 19). As explained by Kaiyaṭa (see *STHANI*, Kaiyaṭa on *Bh.* No. 107 on P. 1.1.57), Patañjali has finally accepted the view that *pūrva* in *pūrvavidhau* is to be taken in the sense of *pūrvamātra* 'merely preceding'.

Contrary to Patañjali's final opinion, in the translation of the rule given above, *pūrva* has been translated as 'immediately preceding'. The reasons for doing so and different solutions for the examples quoted by Patañjali have been stated in *STHANI*, Pt. I, Note (144).

5. For the interpretation of the word *vidhi* in *pūrvavidhau* and the meaning of the cp. as a whole, see under 1.1.58, note 4.

6. The discussion in the *Mbh.* on the present rule raises some points of fundamental theoretical importance. They concern the concepts of *asiddha*, implying that of *siddha*, *sthānivadbhāva* and *antaraṅga-bahiraṅga*.

Kātyāyana, in *Vt.* I, on P. 6.1.86, has attributed two aims to the statement of the word *asiddha* in this rule. The two aims are (1) *ādeśalakṣaṇapratiṣedha* 'prohibition of (an operation) dependent on the substitute', and (2) *utsargalakṣaṇabhāva* 'giving scope to (an operation) dependent on the original (*utsarga=sthānin*)'. Here (1) may be called the negative, that is, prohibitive aspect of *asiddhatva* '(being regarded as) not having taken effect'. Thus *asiddha* serves to prohibit an operation which otherwise would have taken effect. Aim (2) may be called the positive, that is, permissive aspect of *asiddhatva*. Thus *asiddha* serves to allow an operation which otherwise would have been prevented. See Joshi 1981, p. 154, and *STHANI*, Pt. I, Note (106).

One example of aim (1) is the form *rājabhis* 'by means of the kings'. In the stage *rājan* + *bhis* P. 8.2.7 becomes applicable. This rule prescribes the deletion of the final *n* of *rājan*. That gives us *rāja*° + *bhis*. Here P. 7.1.9 becomes applicable. This rule prescribes the substitution of *ais* for *bhis* after a stem ending in short *a*. That would give us, after the application of one more rule, the form *rājais*. But this form is not desired. It is prevented by the statement of *asiddha* in P. 8.2.1, which opens the section in which P. 8.2.7 has been put. By this statement the disappearance (deletion) of the *n* of *rājan* is declared *asiddha* '(regarded as) not having taken effect' with regard to the operation prescribed by P. 7.1.9. Therefore this latter rule cannot apply. Here the

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statement of *asiddha* serves to block an operation dependent on the substitute, namely, the substitution of *lopa* for the final *n* of *rājan*.

One example of aim (2) is the form *pakva* 'cooked'. In the stage *pac* + *Kta* P. 8.2.52 becomes applicable. This rule prescribes the substitution of *va* for *ta*. That gives us *pac* + *va*. The final result would be *pacva*. But this is not desired. It is prevented by the statement of *asiddha* in P. 8.2.1, which opens the section in which P. 8.2.30 has been put. By this statement the substitution of *va* for *ta* is declared *asiddha* with regard to the operation prescribed by P. 8.2.30. Therefore, as far as the application of P. 8.2.30 is concerned, the derivational stage is still *pac* + *ta*. Here the application of P. 8.2.30 in combination with P. 1.1.50 gives us *pakva*, as desired. Thus the statement of *asiddha* serves to allow an operation, namely, the substitution of *k* for *c*, which otherwise would have been prevented.

7. The statement of *asiddha* in P. 8.2.1 forms the ordering principle for *tripādī* rules with regard to rules outside this section and within the *tripādī*– section itself. It follows that elsewhere, that is, where a *tripādī*– rule is not involved, the application of rules is governed by the opposite principle, which therefore may be called the *siddha* principle. This principle has not been stated explicitly in the *A*. It simply tells us that interacting rules in a given derivation must acknowledge the effect of their application. Or, in other words, in the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* section any rule is *siddha* '(regarded as) having taken effect' with regard to any other rule in this section. Thereby the rules in this section become automatically ordered. See Joshi 1981, p. 153, and Joshi–Roodbergen 1987, p. 541–2.

Once Kātyāyana's explanation of *asiddha* has been accepted, we may establish the function of *siddha* in the opposite way. Accordingly, the assumption of *siddha* may be said to have two aims, namely, (1) *ādeśalakṣaṇabhāva* 'giving scope to (an operation) dependent on the substitute', and (2) *utsargalakṣaṇapratiṣedha* 'prohibition of (an operation) dependent on the original'. Thus *siddha* also has a positive and a negative aspect. See Joshi–Roodbergen 1987, p. 546.

One example for aim (1) is the form *aijyata* 'he sacrificed'. In the stage *a* + *yaj* + *ya* + *lAṄ*. the rule P. 6.1.15 becomes applicable. This rule prescribes *saṃprasāraṇa* for the *y* of *yaj*. Accordingly, we derive the stage *a* + *ij* + *ya* + *lAṄ*. Since here the verbal base begins with a vowel, P. 6.4.72 becomes applicable. This rule prescribes the augment *ā*. Thus we derive *ā* + *ij* + *ya* + *lAṄ*, which finally results in the form *aijyata*, as

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desired. Thus here we have given scope to an operation based on the substitute *i* (for *ya* of *yaj*), and at the same time prohibited an operation based on the original *y* (of *yaj*). If this latter operation, that is, the operation prescribed by P. 6.4.71, had taken place, the augment would have been short *a*. That would have given us the form *ejyata*, which is not desired.

One example for aim (2) is *dudyūṣati* ' he wants to gamble '. In the stage *dyū* + *saN* + *lAṬ*, after the application of P. 6.4.49, reduplication is applied by P. 6.1.9. Here the *siddha*– principle prohibits an operation based on the *sthānin div*, which would have given us a reduplication in the form of *di*. At the same time, it gives scope to an operation based on the substitute *dyū*. Thus we derive the stage *dyū* + *dyū* + *saN* + *lAṬ*, which finally results in *dudyūṣati*, as desired. See Joshi– Roodbergen 1987, p. 546.

In both examples the operation based on the substitute is given scope, whereas the operation based on the original (*sthānin*) is prohibited. Thus the aims (1) and (2) are reached simultaneously.

8. The principles of *siddha* and *asiddha* are of prime importance in deciding conflict– procedure in the *A.*, notably the type of conflict we have called a one–way conflict (see Joshi– Roodbergen 1987, p. 542). A conflict occurs when two rules become applicable at the same time, whether to one and the same *āśraya* ' linguistic–element ' or to two different ones. We speak of a one–way conflict, when out of two rules A and B the application first of one of these rules does not prevent the subsequent application of the other rule, but the application first of the other rule does. That is to say, the prior application of the other rule destroys the *nimitta* ' cause (of application) ' of the first rule, or, in any case, changes the linguistic environment in which it was to become applicable. See Joshi– Roodbergen 1987, p. 542–3.

Now, by the *siddha*–principle, that rule is to be applied first which destroys the *nimitta* of applying the other rule, or changes the linguistic environment in which it was to become applicable. One consequence of this principle is that deletion– rules always take precedence. By the *asiddha*–principle, on the other hand, the rule which destroys the *nimitta* of the other rule, or changes its environment, is treated as *asiddha*, as far as the application of the other rule is concerned. Therefore the other rule may be applied or not, depending on the character of what is declared to be *asiddha*.

Two examples. First the form *aijyata* ' he sacrificed ' again. In the stage *a*+*yaj*+*ya*+*lAṄ* two rules become simultaneously applicable. They are P. 6.1.15, which prescribes *saṃprasāraṇa* for the *y* of *yaj*, and P. 6.4.71, which

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prescribes the augment short *a*. Here the application of the rule P. 6.1.15 destroys the *nimitta* for applying P. 6.4.71, namely, the fact that *yaj* begins with a consonant. On the other hand, after the application of P. 6.4.71 we may still apply *saṃprasāraṇa*. Therefore this is a one-way conflict. Going by the *siddha*-principle, we will apply P. 6.1.15 first. Therefore we cannot apply P. 6.4.71 any longer. Instead, we apply P. 6.4.72, with the desired result.

The second example is the form *bhugna* 'curved'. In the stage *bhuj*+*Kta* two rules become applicable simultaneously. They are P. 8.2.30, which prescribes the substitution of a *ku*- sound for the final *j* of *bhuj*, and P. 8.2.45, which prescribes the substitution of *na* for *ta*. Both rules occur in the *tripādī*-section. Here the substitution of a *ku*-sound for the *j* does not affect the substitution of *na* for *ta*. But the application first of P. 8.2.45 changes the environment in which P. 8.2.30 is to become applicable in such a way that its application first would lead to an undesired result, namely, the form *bhujna*. Therefore this is a one-way conflict. Going by the *siddha*-principle P. 8.2.45 is to be applied first. But the application of this rule is *asiddha* '(regarded as) not having taken effect' as far as the application of P. 8.2.30 is concerned. Therefore, for all practical purposes, we are still in the derivational stage *bhuj* + *ta*. Here P. 8.2.30 is applied, which gives us *bhugna*, as desired. See Joshi-Roodbergen 1987, p. 543-4.

9. Patañjali (*STHANI* Pt. I, *Bh*. No. 97 on P. 1.1.57), following the *ślokavārttikakāra*, has attributed the two aims assigned to the word *asiddha* in P. 6.1.86 by Kātyāyana, to *sthānivadbhāva* also. Thus, according to to Patañjali, *sthānivadbhāva* assumes a negative prohibitive aspect and a positive permissive aspect. One of the examples quoted for the negative aspect is *vāyvoḥ* 'of the two winds'. Here, in the stage *vāyu* + *os*, P. 6.1.77 becomes applicable. This rule prescribes the substitution of a *yaṆ*-sound for the *u* of *vāyu*. That gives us *vāyv-os*. But here another rule becomes applicable, namely, P. 6.1.66. This rule prescribes the deletion of the *y*. The resulting form would be *vāvos*. But this is not desired. We want *vāyvos*. So the question before tradition was, how to prevent the deletion of the *y*? This is where the negative aspect of *sthānivadbhāva* comes in. The *v* which has replaced the *u* of *vāyu* is declared *sthānivat*. Therefore P. 6.1.66 cannot become applicable. See further Joshi 1981, p. 157-8, and *STHANI*, Pt. I, p. 235.

10. Another example which plays a crucial role in the discussion, like *vāyvoḥ*, is *paṭvyā* 'by the clever one' (fem.). Here, in the stage *paṭu* + $\bar{\imath}$ + $\bar{a}$, P. 6.1.77, which prescribes *yaṇādeśa*, becomes applicable both to the *u* of

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paṭu and to the fem. suffix *ī*. If this rule is first applied to the *ī*, we cannot have *yaṇādeśa* for the *u* any more, although it is desired. So here the question before tradition was, how to give scope to this *yaṇādeśa*. The answer given is, by having recourse to *asiddhatva*. See Joshi 1981, p. 157, and *STHANI*, Pt. I, Note (135).

Having recourse to *asiddhatva* in the case of *paṭvyā* implies having recourse to the *antaraṅga–pb*. (*PN*, *pb*. 50). Traditionally, this *pb*. is taken to be valid both word-internally and across the word-boundary. Now the idea is that the *yaṇādeśa* applied to the *u* of *paṭu* does not require the case ending *Ṭā* – which is regarded as an external element in respect of the *aṅga paṭu* –, whereas the *yaṇādeśa* applied to the *ī* does. Therefore the first operation is considered to be *antaraṅga* in relation to the second operation, and the second operation as *bahiraṅga* in relation to the first operation. In such a situation the *bahiraṅga* operation is held to be *asiddha* ' (regarded as) not having taken effect ', when the question is of applying the *antaraṅga* operation. Therefore, in the stage *paṭu* + *y* + *ā*, after applying the *yaṇādeśa* to the *ī*, we can still apply P. 6.1.77 to the *u*, because, for all practical purposes, we are still in the stage *paṭu* + *ī* + *ā*. See Joshi 1981. p. 157, and Joshi – Roodbergen 1987, p. 547.

11. All this appears to work. Then why and where did it go wrong? The answer is, in attributing both a negative and a positive aspect to *sthānivadbhāva*, and thus ascribing one and the same function to *asiddhatva* and *sthānivadbhāva*.

Contrary to this view, it is maintained that *sthānivadbhāva* has a positive aspect only. It never serves to disallow operations, it only serves to allow operations based on the *sthānin*, which otherwise would not be available for the substitute. Moreover, *sthānivadbhāva* applies word-internally only. See Joshi 1981, p. 160, 167 and Joshi– Roodbergen 1987, p. 548.

In fact, the concepts of *asiddha*, *sthānivadbhāva* and *antaraṅga–bahiraṅga* have been introduced in grammar for different purposes. The statement of *asiddha* (like that of *siddha*, to which it forms as an exception) serves as an ordering-principle in the case of a one-way conflict. *Sthānivadbhāva* serves to allow operations based on the *sthānin*, in connection with the substitute. The *antaraṅga–bahiraṅga* relation is an exception to the *siddha*–principle, and is to be applied across the word-boundary only. That is to say, it becomes effective only when two *padas* are involved.

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An example is *atrejatus* 'here the two of them have sacrificed'. In the reduplication stage *atra* + *i* + *ij* + *atus*, two rules become applicable at the same time. They are P. 6.1.87, which prescribes the substitution of *guṇa* for (*atr*) *a* + *i*, and P. 6.1.101, which prescribes the subtitution of long *ī* for *i* + *i* (*j*). Here the application first of P. 6.1.101 does not destroy the *nimitta* 'cause (of application)' of P. 6.1.87, but the application first of P. 6.1.87 destroys the *nimitta* of P. 6.1.101. Therefore, by the *siddha*–principle, we would have to apply P. 6.1.87 first. That would give us the form *atray ījatus*, by P. 6.1.78, which is not desired. Here the *antaraṅga–pb.* says that, since the application of P. 6.1.87 requires elements belonging to two *padas*, we have to give precedence to P. 6.1.101, which requires elements belonging to one and the same *pada* only, and which, therefore, is *antaraṅga* in relation to P. 6.1.87. Accordingly, we derive the form *atrejatus*, as desired. See further Joshi 1981, p. 165, 167, and Joshi–Roodbergen 1987, p. 548–9. Effectively, the blocking of an operation falls within the domain of *siddha/asiddha*, *antaraṅga/bahiraṅga*, or *apavāda*, but never of *sthānivadbhāva*.

12. The question how to account for the form *vāyvoḥ*, which in tradition figures as an example for the negative aspect of *sthānivadbhāva*, requires a totally different answer. In fact, it requires major surgery in the body of the rules of the *A.* in its present form, namely, the transference of the sandhi–rules put in the sixth *adhyāya* to the *tripādī*–section. See Joshi–Roodbergen 1983, p. 88–89, and 1987, p. 548. Even in the present text of the *A.* the deletion–rule P. 6.1.66 precedes the *yaṇādeśa*–rule P. 6.1.77. Therefore, reasoning by *tripādī*–order, *yaṇādeśa* is *asiddha*, '(regarded as) not having taken effect' in respect of the deletion. Consequently, since in *vāyv* + *os* the *yaṇādeśa*–operation is *asiddha*, the deletion of the *y* cannot be applied.

13. According to tradition, P. 1.1.57 requires a number of exceptions which have been enumerated in P. 1.1.58. But once the negative aspect of *sthānivadbhāva* has been rejected, P. 1.1.58 can be dismissed.

1.1.58 NA PADĀNTADVIRVACANAVAREYALOPASVARASAVARṆĀNUSVĀRADĪRGHAJAŚCAR–VIDHIṢU '(*sthānivadbhāva* "treatment like the original" does) not (apply), when the question is of (applying rules prescribing) operations regarding.

(1) the final of a *pada*.

(2) the doubling of consonants,

(3) the deletion of *ya* before (the suffix) *varaC*,

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(4) accent,

(5) (the substitution of) a homogeneous speechsound,

(6) *anusvāra*,

(7) lengthening,

(8) (the substitution of) a *jaŚ*–sound (i. e., a non–nasal, voiced non-aspirate)

(9) (the substitution of) a *caR*–sound (i. e. an unvoiced non-aspirate stop, or an unvoiced sibilant) '.

1. Traditionally, P. 1.1.58 is taken as an exception to P. 1.1.57, which itself states an exception to the exception stated as *analvidhau* to the *sthānivadbhāva* prescribed by P. 1.1.56. Thus from no *sthānivadbhāva* in P. 1.1.56, *analvidhau*, we proceed to *sthānivadbhāva* in P. 1.1.57, and thence to no *sthānivadbhāva* in P. 1.1.58 for the cases enumerated. As stated by the *KV*, the purpose of P. 1.1.58 is to prohibit *sthānivadbhāva* which over–applies by P. 1.1.57 in connection with the nine types of operations mentioned.

2. The expression *sthānivad ādeśaḥ* from P. 1.1.56 is continued. P. 1.1.57, *acaḥ parasmin*, is continued. Since the word *vidhi* is mentioned in P. 1.1.58, the word *pūrvavidhau* from P. 1.1.57 need not be continued as a whole. Only the constituent *pūrva* here is continued, as *pūrvasya*. For the continuation of cp.–constituents forming part of a genitive *tp*. cp. see Joshi–Bhate 1984, p. 248–49.

The *uddeśya* is *sthānivad ādeśo 'caḥ parasmin pūrvasya*. The *vidheya* is P. 1.1.58 itself.

3. The *KV* deals with each of the operations enumerated separately and provides examples which are taken from the *Mbh*. on the present rule. Here the examples regarding *vareyalopa* come in two categories, because, following a suggestion made by Patañjali (*Mbh*. I, p. 152, lines 8–10), the term *vareyalopa* is analysed as *varelopa* ' deletion before (the suffix) *varaC* ' (*aluksamāsa*) and *yalopa* ' deletion of *y* '.

4. In the discussion on P. 1.1.57 (*Mbh*. I, p. 144, lines 13–14) Patañjali has discussed the question which meaning is to be assigned to the word *vidhi* (as used in *pūrvavidhau*). He mentions two possible derivations, (1) in the sense of impersonal action (*bhāvasādhana*), and (2) in the sense of object (*karmasādhana*). The first derivation results in the meaning *vidhāna* ' bringing into existence ' for *vidhi*, the second in the meaning ' that which is

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prescribed ', that is, operation. Patañjali opts for the *bhāvasādhana* derivation. See *STHANI*, Pt. I, Note (115).

The same question is asked, and the same answer is given in connection with the term *padāntavidhi* in P. 1.1.58. Here also, after a long and complicated discussion, the *bhāvasādhana* derivation is accepted, because it enables us to handle more examples than the *karmasādhana* derivation. See *STHANI*, pt. I, Note (115) and *STHANI*, Pt. II, Notes (9) and (12).

In the translations of P. 1.1.57 and 58 given above, however, the word *vidhi* has been uniformly rendered as '(a rule prescribing) an operation '. Thus, in both cases, against Patañjali, we have adopted the *karmasādhana* derivation. Let us now examine the reason for doing so.

The word *pūrvavidhau* is a genitive tp. cp., to be analysed as *pūrvasya vidhau*. Here two questions arise, namely, (1) which is the meaning to be attributed to the word *vidhi* depending on its derivation ? and (2) which is the meaning or function to be attributed to the genitive case ending in *pūrvasya* ?

As regards (1), we have two possibilities. The first is the *bhāvasādhana* derivation, according to which *vidhi* means *vidhānam* ' bringing into existence '. The second is the *karmasādhana* derivation, according to which *vidhi* means *vidhīyate* '(that which) is prescribed '.

Let us first take *vidhi* in the sense of *vidhānam*, and find out how it can be connected with *pūrvasya*. Here again we have two possibilities. First, *pūrvasya* may be taken to function as the object (by P. 2.3.65). In this case the resulting meaning is ' bringing into existence the immediately preceding item '. We note that, since the sense of object has not already been expressed by the word *vidhi*, P. 2.3.1 does not come into play. Secondly, *pūrvasya* may be taken in its grammatical meaning of *pūrvasya sthāne* ' in place of the immediately preceding item ', by P. 1.1.49. In that case, the resulting meaning is ' bringing into existence (an item X) in place of the immediately preceding item '. Thus here we have to supply the object contextually.

Let us now take *vidhi* in the (passive) sense of '(that which) is prescribed ' and see how it can be connected with *pūrvasya*. Since the word *vidhi* here already denotes the sense of *karman* ' object ' the genitive ending of *pūrvasya* cannot be taken to convey that sense again. This is prohibited by P. 2.3.1. Then what remains for *pūrvasya* is the grammatical sense of the genitive ending, namely, *sthāne*, by P. 1.1.49. This gives us the meaning '(that which) is prescribed in place of the immediately preceding item ' Reference is to the substitute.

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Out of these two meanings, 'bringing into existence the immediately preceding item' and '(that which) is prescribed in place of the immediately preceding item' the first one is to be rejected on the simple ground that the immediately preceding item is not to be brought into existence. It is already there, waiting for its substitute. That is why the *karmasādhana* derivation of the word *vidhi* has been adopted.

Actually, there is very little difference between the interpretation *pūrvasya sthāne vidhānam*, based on the *bhāvasādhana* derivation of *vidhi*, and the interpretation *pūrvasya sthāne vidhīyate*, based on the *karmasādhana* derivation. Only, in the phrase *pūrvasya sthāne vidhānam* we have to supply an object. That object is identical with the substitute.

5. As stated under note 3, the *KV* provides examples for all of the nine types of operations mentioned in the present rule. The examples quoted have been extensively dealt with in Joshi–Roodbergen 1989. Moreover, in this article it is explained that, in the majority of the cases, the reason why tradition has phrased P. 1.1.58 lies in the wrong assumption that *sthānivadbhāva* can be used to block operations. But once it has been accepted that *sthānivadbhāva* has a positive aspect only, and only serves to allow operations based on the *sthānin* (see under 1.1.57, Note 11) the examples concerned can be easily justified without having recourse to P. 1.1.58. In the remaining cases also, wrong assumptions of tradition have led to the phrasing of the present rule. Since therefore this rule has no examples, it can be dispensed with.

Consider, for instance, the example *babdhām* 'let the two chew' quoted for a rule dealing with the substitution of a *jaŚ*–sound. The derivation is as follows :

(1)	*bhasA–*			*Dhātup.* 3.18
(2)	*bhas*		+ *loṬ*	P. 3.3.162
(3)	*bhas*		+ *tām*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*bhas*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *tām*	P. 3.1.68
(5)	*bhas*	+ *ślu*	+ *tām*	P. 2.4.75
(6)	*bhas* + *bhas*		+ *tām*	P. 6.1.10
(7)	*bhas* + *bh°s*		+ *tām*	P. 6.4.100
(8)	*bha°* + *bhs*		+ *tām*	P. 7.4.60
(9)	*bha* + *bh*		+ *tām*	P. 8.2.26
(10)	*bha* + *b h*		+ *dhām*	P. 8.2.40
(11)	*bha* + *b*		+ *dhām*	P. 8.4.53
(12)	*ba* + *b*		+ *dhām*	P. 8.4.54
	babdhām.			

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The traditional difficulty arises in stage (11). Here, if *sthānivadbhāva* is assumed of the *a* deleted in stage (7) we cannot apply P. 8.4.53. But it is necessary to apply this rule. That is why here treatment like the original is prohibited by P. 1.1.58, *na...jaś*.

But if the assumption that *sthānivadbhāva* may block operations is rejected, there is no difficulty at all, and we can do away with the prohibition *na . jaś*.

1.1.59 DVIRVACANE 'CI ' (the substitute of a vowel) occurring immediately before (a suffix which begins with) a vowel (and which causes) reduplication (is treated like the original only when the question is of reduplication) '.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under 1.1.3, note 1. Tradition calls it an *atideśasūtra* ' rule of transference ', for which see under 1.1.56, note 1.

2. The words *sthānivad ādeśaḥ* and *acaḥ* are continued from P. 1.1.56 and 57 respectively. From P. 1.1.58 nothing has been continued, notably not the word *na*.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK*, No. 2343 on P. 1.1.59) does continue the word *na* from P. 1.1.58. Thus, according to him, the rule means that until the reduplication has been applied no substitution is allowed, which is caused by a suffix, which begins with a vowel and which is the cause of reduplication. The result of this interpretation is the same as that of the interpretation given above.

The *uddeśya* is *aca ādeśo dvirvacane 'ci*. The *vidheya* is *sthānivat*. Since the *vidheya* is not changed as compared to that of P. 1.1.58, we expect the negation *na* to be continued also in P. 1.1.59. See Joshi–Bhate 1984, p. 144 and p. 274, convention 40. Since, however, *na* is discontinued in P. 1.1.59, this may be taken as another indication that P. 1.1.58 is a rule inserted at a later date.

3. The rule, as compared with its translation, offers a nice example of word-economy. The many expressions supplied in the translation require an explanation. The expression ' the substitute of a vowel ' is continued from P. 1.1.57. The expression ' a suffix which begins with ' is supplied partly because reference must be to a suffix, since any morphemic reduplication is conditioned by a suffix, and partly because *PN*, *pb*. 33 applies here. In *aci* (*pratyaye*) the word *aci* functions as a qualifier. The expression ' and which

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causes ' is supplied on the authority of Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 156, lines 7–8), who explains *dvirvacane* as *dvirvacananimitte* ' (a suffix beginning with a vowel) which causes reduplication '. The expression ' when the question is of applying reduplication ' is also supplied on Patañjali's authority (*Mbh.* I, p. 156, lines 18–19). The word ' only ' again goes back to Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 156, lines 14 – 15). The *KV*, in its paraphrase of the rule supplies the the word *eva* here.

4. The treatment of the original prescribed by P. 1.1.59 amounts to the restoration of the original form of the vowel of the verbal base, when the question is of reduplication, but at or during the time of reduplication only. The technical terms used by the *KV* to express these two points are *rūpātideśa* ' transference of the (original) form ' and *niyatakāla* ' lasting for a definite time (only) '.

5. The *Padamañjarī* on the *KV* on the present rule mentions six possible interpretations (*pakṣas*). Nāgeśa (see *STHANI*, Pt. II, Note (61)) mentions five. They all make the same point in different ways, namely, that when the question is of reduplication, the vowel of the reduplicative syllable is to be treated like the original vowel of the verbal base itself. This can be done by assuming *rūpātideśa*, or by prohibiting substitution. See further *STHANI*, Pt. II, Note (61).

6. The *KV* enumerates eight purposes of the rule with corresponding examples, all taken from the *Mbh.* They are :

a. The deletion of a long *a*. For instance, *papatuḥ/papuḥ* ' the two of them/they have drunk '.

b. The deletion of the penultimate (vowel). For instance, *jaghnatuḥ/jaghnuḥ* ' the two of them/they have killed '.

c. The deletion of the causative suffix *ṆiC*. For instance, *āṭiṭat* ' he caused to wander '.

d. The substitution of a *yaṆ*–sound. For instance, *cakratuḥ/cakruḥ* ' the two of them/they have done '.

e. The substitution of *ay* (for *e*). For instance, *ninaya* ' I have brought '.

f. The substitution of *av* (for *o*). For instance, *lulava* ' I have cut '.

g. The substitution of *āy* (for *ai*). For instance, *nināya* ' he has brought '.

h. The substitution of *āv* (for *au*). For instance, *lulāva* ' he has cut '.

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7. Three examples of derivations of forms quoted under note 6.

A. The derivation of *papus*.

(1)	*pā-*	*Dhātup.* 1.972
(2)	*pā* + *lIṬ*	P. 3.2.115
(3)	*pā* + *jhi*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*pā* + *us*	P. 3.4.82
(5)	*p*° + *us*	P. 6.4.64; 1.2.5
(6)	*pā* + *p* + *us*	P. 6.1.8
(7)	*pa* + *p* + *us*	P. 7.4.59
	papus.	

The difficulty arises in stage (6). If the deleted long *ā* is not treated like the original long *ā*, we cannot apply P. 6.1.8, because this rule is conditioned by the term *ekāc* 'containing one vowel', continued from P. 6.1.1. Here P. 1.1.59 comes to our rescue. Since the finite verb ending begins with a vowel, and since this ending, which has replaced *lIṬ*, causes reduplication, the deleted *ā* is *sthānivat*. Therefore P. 6.1.8 can apply, and we derive the desired form.

Going by the *siddha*-principle (for which see under 1.1.57, note 8), which, in the case of a one-way conflict, tells us to apply that rule first which destroys the *nimitta* of the other, simultaneously applicable rule, we would have to add the substitute endings first. The reason is that this addition leads to the deletion of the verbal base vowel, which, in its turn, destroys the *nimitta* of the reduplication. This is precisely what has been done in the derivation above. But that leads to the difficulty stated. It is this difficulty which is removed by P. 1.1.59. This goes to show that P. 1.1.59 presupposes the *siddha*-principle and has been phrased to counter the effect of this principle.

B. The derivation of *āṭiṭat*.

(1)	*aṭ-*			*Dhātup.* 1.317
(2)	*aṭ* + *ṆiC*			P. 3.1.26
(3)	*āṭ* + *i*			P. 7.2.116
(4)	*āṭ* + *i*		+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.2.110
(5)	*ā* + *āṭ* + *i*		+ *lUṄ*	P. 6.4.72
(6)	*ā* + *āṭ* + *i*	+ *Cli*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.43
(7)	*ā* + *āṭ* + *i*	+ *CaṄ*	+ *lUṄ*	P. 3.1.48
(8)	*ā* + *āṭ* + *i*	+ *a*	+ *tip*	P. 3.4.78
(9)	*ā* + *āṭ* + *i*	+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 3.4.100
(10)	*ā* + *āṭ* + °	+ *a*	+ *t*	P. 6.4.51
(11)	*ā* + *aṭ*	+ *a*	+ *t*	P. 7.4.1
(12)	*ā* + *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ*	+ *a*	+ *t*	P. 6.1.11; 6.1.2
(13)	*ā* + *ṭi* + *ṭ*	+ *a*	+ *t*	P. 6.1.101
	āṭiṭat.			

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The difficulty arises in stage (11). If the deleted *i* of *ṆiC* is not treated like the original, we cannot apply P. 6.1.2. This rule says that, if the verbal base begins with a vowel, the second syllable, which must be *ekāc* ' containing one vowel ', is reduplicated. Here P. 1.1.59 helps out. It declares the deleted *i* to be *sthānivat* for purposes of reduplication. Therefore we can apply P. 6.1.2.

C. The derivation of *ninaya*.

(1)	*nī–*		*Dhātup.* 1.950
(2)	*nī* +	*lIṬ*	P. 3.2.115
(3)	*nī* +	*miP*	P. 3.4.78
(4)	*nī* +	*ṆaL*	P. 3.4.82
(5)	*ne* +	*a*	P. 7.3.84; 7.1.91
(6)	*nay* +	*a*	P. 6.1.78
(7)	*nī* + *nay* +	*a*	P. 6.1.8
(8)	*ni* + *nay* +	*a*	P. 7.4.59
	ninaya.		

The difficulty arises in stage (7). If the *ay*–substitute is not treated like the original *i*, we would have *nay* as the reduplication syllable. This is not desired. Here P. 1.1.59 helps us. It declares the *ay*–substitute to be *sthānivat* for purposes of reduplication. Therefore the reduplication syllable will be *nī*. Thus we derive the desired form.

8. As stated under 1.1.57 note 8, the principles of *siddha* and *asiddha* are conflict–solving procedures, to be applied in a particular type of conflict which is called a one–way conflict, As stated under 1.1.57, note 11, by attributing a negative aspect to *sthānivadbhāva*, Sanskrit grammatical tradition, from an early, pre–Patanjalian date onwards, has confused *sthānivadbhāva* with the workings of the *siddha*– and *asiddha*–principles. It may be useful to summarize at this point the ways Sanskrit grammatical tradition has attempted to solve conflicts of rules. They are five ways, as follows :

a. *Paratva*. That is to say, the later rule, according to the order of rules in the *A*., prevails. According to tradition, this principle is valid throughout the *A*.

b. *Pūrvatva*. That is to say, the earlier rule, according to the order of rules in the *A*., prevails. It is valid in specific cases only and it is first mentioned by Kātyāyana.

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c. *Nityatva* (see *PN*, pbs. 42–45).

d. *Utsargāpavādatva* (see *PN*, pb. 63).

e. *Antaraṅgatva* (see *PN*, pb. 50). This principle is declared to be valid both word–internally and across the word–boundary.

Against this traditional stand, first of all we have to make a distinction between a one–way conflict and a two–way conflict. See Joshi–Roodbergen 1987, p. 542. Then it appears that only four conflict–solving procedures are required as follows :

A. One–way conflict

(1) *Siddhatva*. This has a wider scope than *nityatva*. See Joshi–Roodbergen 1987, p. 544, fn. 8.

(2) *Asiddhatva*. See Joshi–Roodbergen 1987, p. 544–46.

B. Two–way conflict

(1) *Paratva*. This is restricted to a particular section of the *A*. only, namely, from P. 1.4.1–2.2.38, that is, the end of the second *pāda* of the second *adhyāya*.

(2) *Antaraṅgatva*. This requires the presence of two *padas*. It works across the word–boundary only. It is not valid word–internally. See Joshi–Roodbergen 1987, p. 548–49.

(3) *Utsargāpavādatva*.

Pāṇini has introduced at least three devices to counter the effect of the *siddha*–principle. They are :

(1) *Asiddhatva*.

(2) *Sthānivadbhāva* (P. 1.1.56–57 and P. 1.1.59).

(3) *Pratyayalakṣaṇatā* ' being (a grammatical operation) conditioned by a suffix ' (P. 1.1.02). See under 1.1.62, note 5.

9. In the course of his discussion Patañjali (*Mbh*. I, p. 156, lines 7–10), while explaining that *dvirvacane* in the present rule is to be interpreted as *dvirvacananimitte* ' (before a suffix) which causes reduplication ', mentions the expressions *dadhitrapusaṃ pratyakṣo jvaraḥ* ' cucumber mixed with curds is (the cause of) clear fever ', *naḍvalodakam pādarogaḥ* ' water in a swampy place is (the cause of) disease of the feet ' and *āyur ghṛtam* ' ghee is (the cause of) long life '. Of these expressions the last one specially is often found in other *śāstras*. If the *Mbh*. is not the earliest source of these examples, it must at least be a very early source.

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1.1.60 ADARŚANAṂ LOPAḤ 'non-appearance (is called) *lopa*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra* which introduces and defines a technical name. The *saṃjñin adarśanam* comes first.

2. By the introduction of a new technical name the previous subject and predicate items are discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*. There is no point in continuing them any more.

3. Keeping in mind that the name *lopa* does not apply to the word-form *adarśanam*, as might be supposed on account of P. 1.1.68, but to its meaning, the *KV* offers five synonyms of the meaning *adarśanam*. They are (a) *aśravaṇam* 'non-hearing', (b) *anuccāraṇam* 'non-pronouncing' (c) *anupalabdhi* 'non-perceiving', (d) *abhāva* 'non-presence' and (e) *varṇavināśa* 'the destruction of speechsounds'.

4. As further explained by the *KV*, the non-appearance is of an element which is *prasakta* 'becoming legitimately applicable'. Consider the form *rāmābhyām* 'by two Rāmas'. Here we cannot maintain that deletion (*lopa*) of the verb ending *tiP* has taken place, because there is no possibility of adding a *tiṄ* suffix. Therefore *lopa* is not a name given to the non-appearance of any arbitrary linguistic element, but only to the non-apperance of an element that has a legitimate chance of applying by rule.

5. *Lopa* may take place of meaningful and of non-meaningful elements. Consider the derivation of *rājā* 'king' (sg. nom.).

(1)	*rājan* + *sU*	P. 4.1.2
(2)	*rājan* + °	P. 6.1.68
(3)	*rājān*	P. 6.4.8
(4)	*rājā*°	P. 8.2.7
	rājā.	

Here, in stage (2), the meaningful element *sU* which is *prasakta* has been deleted. In stage (4) the non-meaningful element *n* has been deleted.

6. Some other instances are as follows: When comparing the cp. *rājapuruṣaḥ* 'the king-officer' with the corresponding wordgroup *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* 'the king's officer' we see that in the cp. the genitive case-ending, which is required from the point of view of meaning, does not appear. Since this genitive ending is required from the point of meaning, but does not appear, it is considered to have undergone *luk*-elision, which is a form of *lopa*.

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Or consider the following derivation. The form to be derived is *ahan* 'he killed'.

(1)	*han*–		*Dhātup.* 2.2
(2)	*han*	+ *lAṄ*	P. 3.2.111
(3)	*a* + *han*	+ *lAṄ*	P. 6.4.71
(4)	*a* + *han*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*a* + *han*	+ *t*	P. 3.4.100
(6)	*a* + *han* + *ŚaP*	+ *t*	P. 3.1.68
(7)	*a* + *han* + °	+ *t*	P. 2.4.72
(8)	*a* + *han*	+ °	P. 6.1.68
	ahan.		

When we compare *ahan* with the 3rd sg. impf. form *abhavat* 'he was' we note that in *ahan* an element which is required to denote the sense of the 3rd person singular, the past tense, and of the agent is not seen, whereas in *abhavat* it is seen. Since this element should be seen in *ahan* also, but is not seen, we assume *lopa* of this element.

Or consider the following derivation. The form to be derived is *somasut* 'one who presses soma' (sg. nom.).

(1)	(((*soma* + *am*) + *su*).) + *KviP*)))		+ *sU*	P. 3.2.61
(2)	(((*soma* + °) + *su*)) + *vi*)))		+ *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(((*soma*	+ *su*)) + °)))	+ *s*	P. 6.1.67
(4)	*soma*	+ *su*	+ *tUK* + *s*	P. 6.1.71
(5)	*soma*	+ *su*	+ *t* + °	P. 6.1.68
	somasut.			

Here the meaning required is that of agent ('one who presses'). But a linguistic element representing this meaning is not seen. Since it is required but not seen, we assume *lopa* of this element.

One difference with the previous example *ahan* is that here the element of which *lopa* is assumed in seen in some forms, like in *abhavat*. But the element called *KviP* is nowhere seen, it is a total zero.

In connection with the last example the question may be asked, why hasn't Pāṇini made use of the suffix *aṆ*, which is added to an *upapada*; which conveys the sense of agent; and which is seen elsewhere, like in *kumbhakāra* 'pot-maker'? Why not delete this suffix afterwards by a special rule? The reason may be, in order to avoid complications regarding *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. These two, *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, are applicable before *aṆ*, but not before *KviP*. Actually, *KviP* is an anomalous agentive suffix.

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7. In the chapter on morphology in his book *Language* (New York 1933, p. 209) L. Bloomfield points out that sometimes meaning is formally expressed by a grammatical feature like a change of phoneme, as in *man* : *men*. But in other cases such a formal feature may be lacking, and there is nothing to formally distinguish two different meanings, like in *sheep* (sg.) and *sheep* (pl.). It is in this context that Bloomfield says : ' Here the Hindus hit upon the apparently artificial but in practice eminently serviceable device of speaking of a *zero element* : in *sheep* : *sheep* the plural-suffix is replaced by zero – that is, by nothing at all. ' In fact, the device of zero elements and of zeroing elements was developed by Pāṇini some 2600 years ago as part of his grammatical system. It was as ingenious a device as that of inventing the number zero in mathematics.

1.1.61 PRATYAYASYA LUKŚLULUPAḤ ' (the non-appearance) of a suffix (is called) *luk*, *ślu* or *lup* '.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra* which both introduces and defines three technical names. The *samjñin* (*adarśanam*) *pratyayasya* comes first,

The letters *k*, *ś* and *p* have no other function than to keep the three kinds of *lu*-deletion separate (*viśeṣaṇārtham*).

2. The word *adarśanam* is continued from P. 1.1.60, whereas the nominative item *lopaḥ* is discontinued by the incompatible nominative items *luk*, etc.

The *uddeśya* is (*adarśanam*) *pratyayasya*. The *vidheya* is *lukślulupaḥ*.

3. The terms *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* are used for purposes of deletion in different cases. Thus, *luk* is Pāṇini's general term for the deletion of suffixes, whereas *ślu* and *lup* have a much more restricted domain. *Ślu* is mainly used for the deletion of the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* after verbal bases of the third conjugation (P. 2.4.75) and for purposes of reduplication (P. 6.1.10). *Lup* is restricted to the deletion of *taddhita*-suffixes. In this connection a few more observations are offered.

According to P. 1.2.54, *lup*-elision is not to be taught, because the connection between the *taddhita*-suffix which is to undergo *luk*, and the particular meaning assigned to this suffix, is not at all clear. Consider the word *pañcālāḥ*. This word may stand both for a people and for the country they live in. In the latter sense, the word *pañcālāḥ* is derived by adding the *taddhita*-suffix *aÑ* (P. 4.2.69) and subsequently deleting this suffix with the help of *lup* (P. 4.2.81). The idea of the author of P. 1.2.54 is that in such cases we

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have to do with a conventional meaning, which, as such, lies outside the realm of grammar. Therefore, to teach this meaning, we should not phrase a rule of grammar.

P. 1.2.54 forms part of the notorious sequence P. 1.2.53–57. According to Böhtlingk (1887, note on P. 1.2.53), this sequence probably does not stem from Pāṇini, because it allegedly contains a criticism of his procedure. Moreover, as noted by Böhtlingk, these rules cannot have come from Kātyāyana, because he himself teaches *luṗ*-deletion. Against Böhtlingk, however, it may be pointed out, firstly, that the rules P. 1.2.53–57 form part of a larger sequence, which begins with P. 1.2.49, in which P. 1.2.53–55 specifically deal with *taddhita*-suffixes and, secondly, that the sequence P. 1.2.53–57 is better viewed as a defence of Pāṇini's procedure against the procedure or procedures adopted in the *taddhita*-section. See further Joshi–Roodbergen, " The Structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in Historical Perspective ", in *Proceedings* 1983, p. 68–69.

4. The *KV* briefly touches upon a problem raised by Patañjali earlier (*Mbh.* I, p. 112, lines 10–13; see under P. 1.1.45, note 5). *Luk*, etc. are said to be *bhāvinī saṃjñāḥ* 'future names' in the sense that they presuppose the result of their application.

5. Two examples, not provided by the *KV*.

A. *dviṣṭas* 'the two of them hate'.

(1) *dviṣ–*		*Dhātup.* 2.3
(2) *dviṣ*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *dviṣ* + *ŚaP*	+ *tas*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *dviṣ* + °	+ *tas*	P. 2.4.72
(5) *dviṣ*	+ *tas*	P. 8.4.41
dviṣṭas.		

In stage (4) the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* is deleted with the help of the term *luk*. If the term *lopa* had been applied, *guṇa* would become applicable by P. 7.3.86, on the basis of P. 1.1.62. But this latter rule is rendered inoperative by P. 1.1.63 which contains a special provision for deletion carried out with the help of the terms *luk*, *ślu* or *luṗ*.

B. *juhutas* 'the two of them offer an oblation'.

(1)	*hu–*		*Dhātup.* 3.1
(2)	*hu*	+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3)	*hu*	+ *tas*	P. 3.4.78

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(4)	*hu* + *ŚaP* + *tas*	P. 3.1.68
(5)	*hu* + ° + *tas*	P. 2.4.75
(6)	*hu* + *hu* + *tas*	P. 6.1.10
(7)	*jhu* + *hu* + *tas*	P. 7.4.62
(8)	*ju* + *hu* + *tas*	P. 8.4.54
	juhutas.	

In stage (5) the *vikaraṇa* *ŚaP* is deleted with the help of the term *ślu.* In stage (6) the application of the same term becomes the condition for reduplication. Again, *guṇa* is prevented. For the mechanism involved see under 5 A. *dviṣṭas.*

1.1.62 PRATYAYALOPE PRATYAYALAKṢAṆAM 'when deletion has taken place of a suffix, (a grammatical operation) caused/conditioned by (that) suffix (will still take place)'.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under 1.1.3, note 1 and 1.1.46 note 1.

2. By the introduction of a new incompatible *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

The *uddeśya* is *pratyayalope*, the *vidheya* is *pratyayalakṣaṇam.*

3. As explained by the *KV*, the word *pratyayalakṣaṇam* is a *bv.* cp. meaning *pratyayanimittaṃ* or *pratyayahetukaṃ kāryam* 'a grammatical operation conditioned or caused by a suffix'.

4. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 161, lines 12–13) explains that the second mention of the word *pratyaya* (in *pratyayalakṣaṇam*) serves to make clear that the grammatical operation must be conditioned by the suffix as such, not by a speech sound belonging to that suffix. Or, in other words, the expression *pratyayalakṣaṇam* serves to make a distinction between *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'conditioned by a *pratyaya*' and *varṇalakṣaṇa* 'conditioned by a speechsound'. An operation conditioned by a *pratyaya* is allowed, whereas an operation conditioned by a speechsound is not. One of the examples quoted here is *gohitam* 'what is beneficial to a cow'. It is derived as follows.

(1)	((*go* + *Ṅe*) + (*hita* + *sU*)) + *sU*	P. 2.1.36
(2)	((*go* + °) + (*hita* + °)) + *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(*go* + *hita*) + *am*	P. 7.1.24
(4)	*gohitam*	P. 6.1.107
	gohitam.	

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Here, if P. 1.1.62 is understood to mean that after the deletion of a suffix, apart from operations based on the suffix as such, also an operation based on a phoneme belonging to that suffix would still be applicable, we would have to replace the *o* of *go* by *av*, according to P. 6.1.78. This would result in the form *gavhitam*, which is not desired. According to Patañjali, to prevent this and similar undesired forms, the word *pratyaya* has been used emphatically in *pratyayalakṣaṇam*, so that we would understand that reference is to operations conditioned by suffixes as such.

5. One of the examples for P. 1.1.62 mentioned by the *KV* – but not by Patañjali in his comment on this rule – is *agnicit* 'one who arranges the sacrificial fire'. The derivation may be assumed as follows :

(1)	(((*agni* + *am*) + *ci*)) + *KviP*)))				+ *sU*	P. 3.2.91
(2)	(((*agni* + °) + *ci*)) + *vi*)))				+ *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(((*agni*	+ *ci*)) +	°	)))	+ *s*	P. 6.1.67
(4)	*agnici*			+ *tUK*	+ *s*	P. 6.1.71
(5)	*agnici*			+ *t*	+ °	P. 6.1.68
	agnicit.					

The idea is that, in stage (4), the augment *tUK*, which is conditioned by a *kṛt* suffix marked with the tag-letter *P*, is still added, although the suffix *KviP* has been deleted. According to tradition, this is due to *sthānivadbhāva* (compare *Mbh*. I, p. 164, lines 19–21), not to the operation of P. 1.1.62. This latter rule only comes in to make the technical name *pada* (by P. 1.4.14) available for *agnicit* after the deletion of the final *s* (see the *KV* on P. 1.1.62).

But, one may ask, if this is the case, why choose the example *agnicit*? There are more simple examples, like *marut* 'wind' (sg. nom.) where the nominative case ending has been deleted, or like *ahan* 'he killed', where the 3rd sg. ending *-t* has been deleted, and where, still, the name *pada* obtains.

When reading the *Bhāṣya* (and the *Vts*) on P. 1.1.62, one is struck by the extreme difficulty the commentators have in determining the purpose of this rule. They are at a loss to provide the corresponding examples, which is strange, because P. 1.1.62 being a *paribhāṣā* should have many examples. To illustrate, *Vt*. XIV enumerates ten purposes. One of them is exemplified by the obscure form *atṛṇet* 'he crushed' (*Mbh*. I, p. 164, line 17). Another example offered by Patañjali in this context is *adhok* 'he milked' (*Mbh*. I, p. 164, line 15) which re-occurs in the *KV* on P. 1.1.62. Patañjali subsequently denies these purposes and says that we can have what we want by *sthānivadbhāva* (*Mbh*. I, p. 164, line 19).

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Let us see how exactly *sthānivadbhāva* is assumed to work here, according to Patañjali. The passage concerned (*Mbh.* I, p. 164, lines 19–21) reads as follows : *sthānivadbhāvenāpy etāni siddhāni. Na sidhyanti. Ādeśaḥ sthānivad ity ucyate, na ca lopa ādeśaḥ. Lopo 'py ādeśaḥ. Katham. Ādiśyate yaḥ sa ādesaḥ. Lopo 'py ādiśyate* ' these (purposes) can be managed by *sthānivadbhāva* also. They cannot be managed. It is stated : *ādeśaḥ sthānivat* " a substitute is like the original ", but *lopa* " deletion " is not a substitute. *Lopa* also is a substitute. How (can that be)? (Because we derive) *ādeśa* " substitute " in the sense of *ādiśyate* " it is prescribed (as a replacement) ". *Lopa* also is prescribed (as a replacement)'. The consequence drawn by Patañjali is that all properties belonging to the *sthānin* can be attributed to the zero–substitute of the *sthānin* also. Thus, to return to the example *agnicit*, the properties *kṛt–tva* ' being a *kṛt* (–suffix)' and *pit–tva* ' being marked with *P* ' belonging to the suffix *KviP* are transferred to the *lopa* replacing *KviP*, and so there is no difficulty in adding *tUK*.

But then, what could be the purposes of P. 1.1.62 ? Quite logically, Patañjali turns to instances where *sthānivadbhāva* is not allowed. These are instances of an *alvidhi* taken in the sense of a rule prescribing an operation conditioned by one single speechsound, namely, rules prescribing the deletion of *n* before *ñi*, *ittva* ' the substitution of short *i* ', and the addition of the augment *im* (P. 7.3.92; *Mbh.* I, p. 164, lines 23–25). But finally Patañjali says that these are not the purposes of P. 1.1.62 either because, in some way or other, we can justify the forms concerned without the help of P. 1.1.62 (*Mbh.* I, p. 165, lines 7 – 10). Then should P. 1.1.62 be stated at all ? According to to Patañjali, it should be stated (*Mbh.* I, p. 165, 10–11). But for what purpose, again ? Patañjali's answer is *pratyayaṃ gṛhītvā yad ucyate tat pratyayalakṣaṇena yathā syāt. Śabdaṃ gṛhītvā yad ucyate tat pratyayalakṣaṇena mā bhūd iti* ' so that what is stated by the mention of a suffix should take place with the help of (the rule *pratyayalope*) *pratyayalakṣaṇam* (and) so that what is stated by the mention of a sound (–sequence) should not take place with the help of (the rule *pratyayalope*) *pratyayalakṣaṇam*. The example offered is that of the *bv.* cp. *sudṛṣad* ' having good (pressing ?) stones ', said of a brahmin. Here, what is to be justified with the help of P. 1.1.62 is the *antodātta* accent of the *uttarapada* by P. 6.2.172, as against the *ādyudātta* accent by P. 6.2.117. The argument is as follows. In the derivational stage $((su + Jas) + (dṛṣad + Jas))^{ap.} + sU$ (P. 2.2.24) the *uttarapada dṛṣad–as* is *as–anta* ' ending in *as* '. Then, after the case ending has been deleted by P. 2.4.71, *dṛṣad* may still be regarded as

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as–anta by *sthānivadbhāva*. As a result, P. 6.2.117 in which *as* is mentioned, that is, *as–anta* words (P. 1 1.72), becomes applicable for purposes of accentuation. This, however, is not desired. The difficulty is solved by having recourse to P. 1.1.62. In Patañjali's final interpretation this rule has become a *niyama* 'restrictive rule', as stated by Kaiyaṭa on *Bh*. No. 74 on P. 1.1.62. The idea is that when we can have something by *sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment like the original', the present rule serves to impose a restriction : when a *pratyaya* has been deleted only that operation is allowed to take place which is conditioned by the *pratyaya* as such, not by a particular sound–sequence which happens to be identical with the *pratyaya*. That is to say, whatever operation is prescribed on account of a property like *kṛt–tva* 'being a *kṛt* (–suffix)' or *taddhita–tva* 'being a *taddhita* (–suffix)' or even *pratyaya–tva* 'being a *pratyaya*', that operation is allowed to go ahead after the suffix has been deleted. But properties like *as–anta–tva* 'ending in *as*', which belong to noun–stems ending in *as* like *tamas* or *candramas*, or to a combination of noun–stem and suffix, like *dṛṣad+as*, are not extended by *sthānivadbhāva*. Thus operations based on properties like *as–antatva* 'ending in *as*' which belong to noun–stems in *as* like *tamas* or *candramas*, or to a combination of noun–stem and suffix, like *dṛṣad + as* are not allowed to go ahead, because these properties are not extendable after the suffix has been deleted. This, according to Patañjali, is the restriction we have from P. 1.1.62, and which makes that rule purposeful. As a result, after the deletion of the case ending *Jas*, the cp. –constituent *dṛṣad* is no longer regarded as *as–anta*. Therefore P. 6.2.117 cannot become applicable. But P. 6.2.172 can, and that is how we account for the desired accentuation, *sudṛṣad*.

At this point some critical observations are due. In the first place the consequence drawn by Patañjali that all properties belonging to the *sthānin* are transferred to the *lopa*–substitute also seems doubtful. The common sense view should rather be that a zero cannot have positive properties. To illustrate, after a *guru* has died and been replaced by zero, the gap he leaves, how can respect be paid to him in a literal sense by means of *padagrahaṇa* 'touching the feet', or how could he still be said to be engaged in teaching in a literal sense ?

Does this imply that *lopa* is no longer to be considered an *ādeśa* ? The answer is no. *Lopa* comes under P. 1.1.49 and other *pbs* like *alo 'ntyasya*. Therefore *lopa* is *ādeśa* 'substitute'. But the transference of properties to *lopa* by means of *sthānivadbhāva* is something different. The point here is that we have to keep the domains of P. 1.1.56 and of P. 1.1.62 separate. P. 1.1.56 says that properties belonging to the *sthānin* are transferred to the substitute

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with the exception of strictly phonemic properties. Quite independently from this, P. 1.1.62 says that whatever operation was applicable when a suffix was there, remains applicable after the suffix is no longer seen. It does not speak of transference of properties at all.

In the second place, in the traditional derivation of *agnicit* as given above, one difficulty has been passed over. We have silently assumed that *KviP* has been deleted first, and that *tUK* is introduced subsequently. But here a problem arises.

Let us have a look at the derivation again. In stage (3) two rules become applicable at the same time, namely, P. 6.1.67, which prescribes *lopa*, and P. 6.1.71, which prescribes *tUK*. In other words, what we have here is a conflict. That is to say, which rule do we apply first ?

In such a situation the *siddha*–principle tells us to apply that rule first which destroys the *nimitta* 'cause of application' of the other rule. It is clear that once the *lopa*–rule in applied first, the *tUK*–rule cannot be applied, because the very conditions of its application, namely *kṛt* and *pit*, are lacking. On the other hand, the application first of the *tUK*–rule does not take away the *nimitta* of the *lopa*–rule. This rule can still be applied.

Therefore, going by the *siddha*–principle, we will apply the *lopa*–rule first. As a result, we cannot have *tUK*. Still, *tUK* is desired. How to have it ? It is precisely here that P. 1.1.62 comes in. It tells us that even if a *pratyaya* is deleted, still, any operations based on this *pratyaya* will go ahead. In considering thus, a definite purpose has been assigned to P. 1.1.62. The purpose is to counter the effect of the *siddha*–principle.

Let us consider the form *adhok* 'he milked', which is also quoted by the *KV* as an example for P. 1.1.62. The derivation is as follows :

(1)	*duh*–		*Dhātup.* 2.4
(2)	*duh*	+ *lAṄ*	P. 3.2.111
(3)	*a* + *duh*	+ *lAṄ*	P. 6 4.71
(4)	*a* + *duh*	+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(5)	*a* + *duh* + *ŚaP*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(6)	*a* + *duh* + *a*	+ t°	P. 3.4.100
(7)	*a* + *duh* + °	+ *t*	P. 2.4.72

At this stage two rules become applicable at the same time, namely, P. 7.3.86, which prescribes *guṇa*, and, P. 6.1.68, which prescribes deletion of

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the finite verb ending *t*. Again, we have a conflict. Which rule do we apply first? We observe that the application first of the *guṇa*–rule does not destroy the *nimitta* 'cause of application' of the *lopa*–rule. On the other hand, the application first of the *lopa*–rule takes away the *nimitta* of the *guṇa*–rule, because once the finite verb ending has been deleted, there is no *sārvadhātuka* suffix any more, and consequently, the condition for applying *guṇa* is lacking. Therefore, going by the *siddha*–principle we apply the *lopa*–rule first. That gives us

(8) *a* + *duh* + ° P. 6.1.68

But now, due to the application of the deletion–rule, we cannot have *guṇa*. Still, *guṇa* is desired. How to have it? This is precisely where P. 1.1.62 helps us. It tells us that even if a suffix is deleted, still, any operations based on this suffix will go ahead. Therefore we continue :

(9) *a* + *doh* P. 7.3.86; 1.1.62
(10) *a* + *dogh* P. 8.2.32
(11) *a* + *dhogh* P. 8.2.37
(12) *a* + *dhog* P. 8.2.39
(13) *a* + *dhok* P. 8.4.56
adhok.

For tradition, like in the case of *agnicit*, the only purpose of P. 1.1.62 shown by the example *adhok* is that the name *pada* (by P. 1.4.14) remains applicable after the finite verb ending has been deleted. But is that all, one may ask again. And if this is all, why select examples like *agnicit* and *adhok*, when so many more easily understood examples are available? In addition, to have the application of the *padasaṃjñā* cannot be the purpose of P. 1.1.62 in Patañjali's (final) view. The point is that *subanta–tva* 'ending in *suP*' and *tiṅanta–tva* 'ending in *tiṄ*' are properties of linguistic items ending in the suffixes mentioned. Therefore *sthānivadbhāva* is applicable, and that is how we can have the designation *pada*.

Apparently, while still preserving the examples *agnicit* and *adhok*, what tradition has lost is the sense of the speciality of these examples in clarifying the purpose of P. 1.1.62. The fact that these examples have been preserved may by regarded as proof of the existence of a grammatical tradition more true to the spirit of Pāṇini, than the tradition handed down by Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Moreover, it must have been a tradition still known to the authors of the *KV*.

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1.1.63 NA LUMATĀṄGASYA '(If deletion of a suffix takes place) with (the help of a term) containing (the element) *lu*, (then an operation conditioned by that suffix) on the *aṅga* ' pre-suffixal stem ' (is) not (allowed) '.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

2. The whole of the previous rule, P. 1.1 62, is continued in the present rule. The *uddeśya* is *lumatā* (*pratyayalope*), the *vidheya* is *aṅgasya* (*pratyayalakṣaṇam*) *na*. The use of a word in the instrumental case outside the section dealing with cps is relatively rare in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

3. *Lu* is the element common to the terms *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* mentioned in P. 1.1.61.

4. The present rule is an exception to P. 1.1.62. Since P. 1.1.62 serves to counter the effect of the *siddha*-principle (see under P. 1.1.62, note 5), P. 1.1.63 serves to re-establish the effect of this principle. This can be shown with the help of two examples. The first example is *dviṣṭas* ' the two of them hate ', the second example is *juhutas* ' the two of them offer an oblation. ' For the derivation see under P. 1.1.61, note 5.

In stage (4) of the derivation of *dviṣṭas* two rules become applicable at the same time, namely, P. 2.4.72, which prescribes deletion of the *vikaraṇa ŚaP*, and P. 7.3.86, which prescribes *guṇa*. According to the *siddha*-principle, in this situation we have to apply the *lopa*-rule first. Then, by P. 1.1.62, after the deletion of *ŚaP*, we can still apply the *guṇa*-rule, which is conditioned by a *sārvadhātuka* suffix (P. 7.3.84). The application of the *guṇa*-rule, however is not desired. It is prevented by P. 1.1.63 which says that, if the deletion takes place with the help of *luk* (continued in P. 2.4.72 from P. 2.4.58), then an operation which is *pratyayalakṣaṇa* ' conditioned by a suffix ' is not allowed.

In stage (5) of the derivation of *juhutas* two rules become applicable at the same time, namely, P. 2.4.75, which prescribes deletion of the *vikaraṇa ŚaP*, and P. 7.3.84, which prescribes *guṇa*. The argument is mainly the same as the one stated in connection with *dviṣṭas*. The only difference is that in *juhutas* deletion takes place with the help of the term *Ślu*.

5. An example for *luK*-deletion quoted by the *KV* is *gargās* ' the *gotra* descendants of Garga '. It is derived as follows :

(1)	((*garga* + *Ṅas*) + *yaÑ*)) + *Jas*	P. 4.1.105
(2)	((*garga* + °) + *ya*)) + *as*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(*garga* + °) + *as*	P. 2.4.64
(4)	*gargās*	P. 6.1.102
	gargās.	

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In stage (3) two rules become applicable, namely, P. 2.4.64, which prescribes deletion of the suffix *yaÑ*, and P. 7.2.117, which prescribes *vṛddhi* for the first *a* of *garga*. According to the *siddha*–principle, in such a situation, we have to apply the deletion–rule first. As a result, we cannot have *vṛddhi*, because its very condition *ṇiti* 'before a suffix marked with *Ṇ*' is lacking. But then P. 1.1.62 tells us that we still can have *vṛddhi*, because it is conditioned by a suffix which has undergone *lopa*. However, *vṛddhi* is not desired. It is prevented by P. 1.1.63, which says that in case of deletion with the help of the term *luK*, an operation which is *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'conditioned by a suffix' is not allowed.

An example for *Ślu*–deletion quoted by the *KV* is *juhutas* 'the two of them offer an oblation'. For the derivation, see under P. 1.1.61, note 5. For the point involved see under P. 1.1 63, note 4.

The *KV* does not offer any example for *lup*–deletion. As stated under P. 1.1.61, note 3, *lup*–deletion is restricted to *taddhita*–suffixes only. An example is *puṣyas* 'a non–specified time (whether day or night) at which the moon is in conjunction with the asterism Puṣya' (sg. nom.). The derivation is as follows :

(1)	((*puṣya* + *Ṭā*) + *aṆ*)) + *sU*	P. 4.2.3
(2)	((*puṣya* + °) + *a*)) + *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(*puṣya* + °) + *s*	P. 4.2.4
	puṣyas.	

Here, in stage (3) two rules become applicable at the same time, namely, P. 4.2.4, which prescribes *lup*–deletion of the suffix *aṆ*, and P. 7.2.117, which prescribes *vṛddhi*. According to the *siddha*–principle, in such a situation we have to apply the deletion–rule first. As a result, we cannot have *vṛddhi*, because its very condition *ṇiti* 'before a suffix marked with *Ṇ*' is lacking. Then P. 1.1.62 tells us that we can still have *vṛddhi*, because it is conditioned by a suffix which has undergone *lopa*. However, *vṛddhi* is not desired. It is prevented by P. 1.1.63, which says that in case of deletion with the help of the term *lup* an operation which is *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'conditioned by a suffix' is not allowed.

One more example for *lup*–deletion. It is the fem. form *citrā* as in *adya citrā* 'today is Citrā', where *citrā* stands for an unspecified time (whether day or night) at which the moon is in conjunction with the asterism Citrā. The point to be made is that if here the suffix *aṆ* would have been deleted with the help of the term *luk*, then the preceding fem. suffix *ṬāP* would have

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to be deleted also, by P. 1.2.49. The resulting form would be *citras* (masc.). On the other hand, since the deletion of *aṆ* takes place with the help of the term *lup*, the fem. suffix is not deleted, and we derive the desired form *citrā*.

The *Nyāsa* on the *KV* on the present rule offers the example *uṣṭragrīva* ' an image representing the neck of a camel ' (no. 13 in the *gaṇa* on P. 5.3.100). Here the suffix *kaN*, prescribed by P. 5.3.95 and continued in P. 5.3.96, is deleted with the help of the term *lup*. If it had been deleted with the help of the term *luk*, the fem. suffix preceding *kaN* would have to be deleted too. That would have resulted in the masc. form *uṣṭragrīvas*.

6. Usually the *KV* provides examples for any terms used in a Pāṇini–sūtra. Curiously, it does not do so for the term *luk* in connection with the present rule. From the *taddhita*–section the only example offered is *gargāḥ* which is an example for *luk*–deletion, somewhat contrary to our expectation, because *lup*–deletion is the typical way of deleting *taddhita*–suffixes. In fact, *lup*–deletion is restricted to the *taddhita*–section. The question whether to draw any inference from this fact regarding the historic constitution of the text of the *KV* remains undecided.

7. Traditionally, as explained by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* here, the application of P. 1.1.63, *aṅgasya*, is not restricted to operations prescribed in the *aṅgādhikāra* ' section dealing with the *aṅga* " pre–suffixal stem " ' P. 1.1.63 applies wherever the question is of an *aṅga*, whether within the *aṅgādhikāra* or outside. The only point made is that the operation must be applicable to the *aṅga*, not to what is called *pada*. That is to say, the mention of *aṅgasya* in P. 1.1.63, is meant to exclude *padasya kāryam* ' an operation (prescribed) for (what is called) *pada* ', as treated in the section P. 8.1.16–8.3.54.

Consider the example *pañca* ' five ' offered by the *KV* in this context. It is derived as follows :

(1) *pañcan* + *Jas*	P. 4.1.2
(2) *pañcan* + °	P. 7.1.22; 1.1.63
(3) *pañca*°	P. 8.2.7
pañca.	

The application of P. 8.2.7 in stage (3) is conditioned by the term *padasya*. Therefore, in order to have the deletion (*lopa*) of *n*, the name *pada* must be applied to *pañcan*, even after the deletion (*luk*) of the case ending *Jas*. This is only possible by the operation of P. 1.1.62. But it is precisely this rule which has been rendered inoperative by P. 1.1.63. In this situation, the term *aṅgasya* in P. 1.1.63 tells us that the operation conditioned by a *pratyaya* but

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prohibited by P. 1.1.63 must be applicable to an *aṅga* 'pre-suffixal stem', not to what is called *pada*. If it applies to a *pada*, then P. 1.1.63 does not prohibit it. And that is how P. 8.2.7 can be applied to have the desired form.

One more example. Consider again the form *gargāḥ* 'the *gotra* descendants of Garga'. The (*taddhita*-) suffix used to derive this form is *yaÑ* (see under this rule, note 5). Here the tag-letter *Ñ* tells us that the word derived with the suffix *yaÑ* has *udātta* on the first syllable; by P. 6.1.197, a rule which comes outside the *aṅga*-section. Now *yaÑ* is deleted with the help of the term *luk*, by P. 2.4.64. After the deletion of *yaÑ*, what remains is the *aṅga*, viz *garga*. Since the remaining portion is called *aṅga*, and since *yaÑ* has been *luk*-deleted, P. 1.1.63 becomes applicable, It prohibits the application of P. 1.1.62, and, in doing so, it cancels the accent-operation by P. 6.1.197. Therefore in *garga* there is no *udātta* of the first syllable. Then how is the form *gargās* in the sense indicated to be accentuated ? We will assume that a *prātipadika* is basically *antodātta*. That gives us – after the deletion of *yaÑ*– *gargá*. According to P. 3.1.4, the case endings are *anudātta*. That gives us *gargá* + *as*. In this stage P. 6.1.102 applies, causing *ekādeśa* 'the replacement (of two vowels) by one'. Now P. 8.2.5 tells us that in the case of *ekādeśa* for an *udātta* vowel followed by an *anudātta* vowel, the single replacing vowel will be *udātta*. That finally gives us *gargā́s*, as *antodātta*.

8. From the point of view of the working of the *siddha*-principle the sequence of the rules P. 1.1.56-63 is an interesting one. This sequence may be briefly described as follows :

(1) P. 1.1.56 introduces the context, which is that of substitution.

(2) P. 1.1.57 has been phrased to counter the effect of the *siddha*-principle. This can be shown with the help of the two time-hallowed examples of this rule, namely, *paṭvyā* and *mṛdvyā*. See under P. 1.1.57, note 10.

(3) P. 1.1.58 is a later insertion, which, moreover, can be dispensed with. See under P. 1.1.57, note 13, and P. 1.1.58, note 5.

(4) P. 1.1.59 has been phrased to counter the effect of the *siddha*-principle in the case of reduplication. See under P. 1.1.59, note 7, A.

(5) P. 1.1.60 and 61 are two *saṃjñāsūtras*, required for the understanding of P. 1.1.62 and 63.

(6) P. 1.1.62 has been phrased to counter the effect of the *siddha*-principle in the case of deletion of suffixes. See under 1.1.62, note 5.

(7) P. 1.1.63 re-enforces the *siddha*-principle in the case of *lu*-deletion of suffixes. See under 1.1.63, note 4.

For details see *STHANI*, Pt. II, Note (54).

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1.1.64 ACO 'NTYĀDI ṬI '(that portion of a linguistic item) which begins with the last one among the vowels (of that item is called) *ṭi* '.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *aco 'ntyādi* and comes first.

2. By the introduction of a new *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous incompatible subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. Patañjali does not deal with the present rule. According to the *KV*, the genitive form *acaḥ* is to be taken as a *nirdhāraṇaṣaṣṭhī* 'a genitive (ending) indicating the singling out (of a part from a whole)' (P. 2.3.41), and as an instance of *jātyekavacana* '(use of) the singular number in the sense of genus' (P. 1.2.58). Thus *acaḥ* is taken to mean *acāṃ madhye* 'among the vowels'.

Actually, by the maxim *sāpekṣam asamarthaṃ bhavati* 'what requires (an outside word as its semantic complement) is not fit (to enter into a cp.)' (*SA*, *Bh*. No. 26) the cp. *antyādi* is irregular, because *antya* requires *acaḥ*. On the other hand, if Pāṇini had phrased his rule as *agantyādi ṭi*, a lack of clarity might have resulted as regards the meaning of *agantyādi*. In general, we may say that the formulation of Pāṇini's rule keeps to the regulations laid down, except if brevity or clarity would be harmed by doing so.

4. Consider the forms *edhate* 'he increases' and *edhete* 'the two of them increase'. The derivation is as follows :

A.	(1) *edh–*		*Dhātup*. 1.2
	(2) *edh* + *lAṬ*		P. 3.2.123
	(3) *edh* + *ta*		P. 1.3.12; 3.4.78
	(4) *edh* + *ŚaP* + *ta*		P. 3.1.68
	(5) *edh* + *a* + *te*		P. 3.4.79
	edhate.		

Here, in stage (5), by P. 3.4.79 the *ṭi*–portion of *edh* + *a* + *ta*, which amounts to the last vowel, is replaced by *e*.

B.	(1) *edh–*		*Dhātup*. 1.2
	(2) *edh* + *lAṬ*		P. 3.2.123
	(3) *edh* + *ātām*		P. 3.4.78
	(4) *edh* + *ŚaP* + *ātām*		P. 3.1.68
	(5) *edh* + *a* + *āte*		P. 3.4.79
	(6) *edh* + *a* + *iyte*		P. 7.2.81
	(7) *edh* + *a* + *i°te*		P. 6.1.66
	(8) *edh* + *e* + *te*		P. 6.1.87
	edhete.		

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Here in stage (5), by P. 3.4.79 the *ṭi*-portion of *edh+a+ātām*, which amounts to the last vowel followed by *m*, is replacad by *e*.

5. Patañjali, in several passages, distinguishes between two types of technical names. They are called *kṛtrima* 'artificial' and *akṛtrima* 'non-artificial' (e. g., *Mbh.* I, p. 80, lines 13 – 16). The non-artificial ones are also known as *arthavat śabdaḥ* 'meaningful term' (*Mbh.* I, p. 81, lines 25 – 26), *mahatī saṃjñā* 'big name' (*Mbh.* I, p. 81, lines 26, 28), or *anvarthasaṃjñā* 'etymologically significant name' (*Mbh*, I, p. 81, line 20). The *akṛtrima saṃjñās* were probably borrowed from pre-Pāṇinian sources. On the other hand, artificial terms like *ghi*, *ghu*, *cli*, *ṭi*, *ru*, which are always used in the sg. ntr., may be considered to be of Pāṇini's own making.

1.1.65 ALO 'NTYĀT PŪRVA UPADHĀ '(the speechsound) preceding the last speechsound (of a linguistic item is called) *upadhā* " penultimate ". '

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* is *alo 'ntyāt purvaḥ* and comes first.

2. By the introduction of a new incompatible *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

The *uddeśya* is *alo 'ntyāt pūrvaḥ*, and the *vidheya* is *upadhā*.

3. As pointed out by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* here, *alo 'ntyāt* are syntactically agreeing words in the ablative.

4. The term *upadhā* is an *anvarthasaṃjñā* 'etymologically significant name'. It means 'placing near', and then also 'what is placed near' namely, near to the last speechsound of a linguistic item. The term is found in *prātiśākhya* literature and may be considered pre-Paṇinian in origin. But then, since *upadhā* is an *anvarthasaṃjñā* and is known in pre-Pāṇinian phonetics, why did Pāṇini define it ? The reason is that terms which are important for Pāṇini's *upadeśa* are defined, or redefined in their strictly Pāṇinian sense.

In connection with the term *upadhā* and with Pāṇini's *upadeśa* (see under 1.1.24, note 4) a problem arises regarding the application of P. 7.3.86. This rule prescribes *guṇa* for the short pre-final (*upadhā*) vowel of an *aṅga* 'pre-suffixal stem'. It follows that the short pre-final vowel must be an *iK*-vowel (P. 1.1.5).

Exactly what do we understand by *upadeśa* ? In the first place, any underived linguistic element which forms a starting-point of derivation, and which does not form part of a larger grammatical unit due to the derivational

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process; a linguistic primitive, so to speak (see *PASPA*. p. 216). These primitives are introduced in the *adhyāyas* 3 – 5 of the *A*., to which the section P. 2.4.52 – 57, which introduces *ādeśas* 'substitutes' for some verbal bases, is to be added. They can be classed as *dhātu* '(non-derived) verbal base' (P. 1.3.1), *pratyaya* 'suffix' (P. 3.1.1), *āgama* 'augment' (a term not used by Pāṇini), and *ādeśa* (as indicated). Here the class called *prātipadika* is excluded, because we assume that a *prātipadika* is basically a derived element (Śākaṭāyana's view, *Nirukta* 1.12, *vyutpattipakṣa*). Secondly, any item mentioned in the *sūtrapāṭha* with the help of an *anubandha* or *anubandhas*. Finally, any item mentioned in the *Dhātupāṭha*. Any such item is termed *aupadeśika* 'belonging to the *upadeśa*'.

Now for P. 7.3.86 which contains the term *laghūpadha* '(an *aṅga*) possessing a short pre-final vowel'. A simple example is *bodhati* 'he becomes aware'. The derivation is as follows:

(1) *budh–*			*Dhātup.* 1.924
(2) *budh*		+ *lAṬ*	P. 3.2.123
(3) *budh*		+ *tiP*	P. 3.4.78
(4) *budh*	+ *ŚaP*	+ *ti*	P. 3.1.68
(5) *bodh*	+ *a*	+ *ti*	P. 7.3.86
bodhati.			

Here, in stage (5), *guṇa* is applied to the short pre-final vowel of the *aṅga* '*budh*', which happens to coincide with the verbal base *budh*, and which, therefore, is not a derived grammatical unit. *Guṇa* is not prohibited by P. 1.1.5, because *ŚaP* is *Pit*, and cannot be considered *Ṅit* by P. 1.2.4. We note that, according to the understanding of *upadeśa* stated above, the short pre-final vowel of the *aṅga* '*budh*' is *aupadeśika*.

A counter-example is *kurute* 'he does'. Here the question is whether or not to apply *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86 to the short pre-final *iK*-vowel *u* of the *aṅga* '*kur*' in the stage *kur* + *u* + *te*. According to the *KV* on P. 6.4.110, *guṇa* has been prevented here by the fact that the replacement vowel *u* (P. 6.4.110) has been mentioned as *uT*. Apparently, the short *u* marked with *T* should remain as it is. This is obviously an *ad hoc* solution, if it is a solution at all.

Another counter-example is *pibati* 'he drinks'. Before the suffix *ŚaP* the verbal base *pā–* is replaced by *pib–* (P. 7.3.78, which actually reads *piba*). Here the question is whether or not to apply *guṇa* to the short *iK*–

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vowel *i* of the *aṅga* '*pib*' in the stage *pib* + *a* + *ti*, by P. 7.3.86. To prevent *guṇa*, *Vt.* I phrases a special prohibition. Patañjali (*Mbh.* III, p. 334, line 17) rejects the *Vt.* He refers to the text of P. 7.3.78, and says that the replacement form *piba* ends in *a*. Therefore P. 7.3.86 cannot become applicable. In the stage *piba* + *a* + *ti* P. 6.1.97 is applied, which gives us *pibati*. In the *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* II on P. 7.3.78, however, Patañjali refers to a *pb.* (*PN*, *pb.* 92) which says that in the section of the *A.* dealing with *aṅga*, after one operation prescribed in this section has taken place, another operation prescribed in the same section is not allowed. Thus, after the substitution prescribed by P. 7.3.78, we are not allowed to apply *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86. This also appears to be *ad hoc* –ism.

One more counter–example. In *bhavitā* 'he will be', analysed as *bhū* + *iṬ* + *tās* + *Ḍā* (P. 3.1.33; 2.4.85; 6.4.143; 7.2.35), the name *aṅga* applies to the grammatical unit *bhavit*. Here the question is whether or not to apply *guṇa* by P. 7.3.86 to the short pre–final *iK*–vowel *i* of the *aṅga* '*bhavit*'. Traditionally, *guṇa* has been prevented by here P. 1.1.6, which specifically prohibits *guṇa* for the augment *iṬ*. But P. 1.1.6 is a suspect rule, which to all appearance has been added to the text of the *A.* later on, see under P. 1.1.6.

Finally, consider the form *bhettṛ* 'one who breaks', analysed as *bhid* + *tṛC* (P. 3.1.133). Here *guṇa* is applied by P. 7.3.86. But the question is, how can the *i* of *bhid*– be termed *laghu*, when it is followed by a consonant–group, as in *bhid* + *tṛ*? According to *Vt.* III, it can, because of a *jñāpaka* 'clue'.

The clue is provided by the *anubandha K* of the suffix *Knu* mentioned in P. 3.2.140. The suffix is used to derive forms like *kṣipnu* 'fond of abuse'. The suffix *Knu* is *Kit*. Therefore *guṇa* of the *i* of *kṣip* in *kṣip* + *nu* is prohibited by P. 1.1.5. But, so the argument goes, to prevent *guṇa* here, we do not need the *anubandha K* in *Knu*. This *anubandha* is redundant. The point is that the consonant–group *–pn–* in *kṣip* + *nu* will cause the preceding vowel to be *guru* 'long'. Therefore P. 7.3.86 cannot become applicable. On the other hand, no element in the *A.* can be redundant. This is axiomatic. Therefore the *K* in *Knu* must have some purpose. The purpose assumed here, that is, the clue, is that, in order to decide whether a consonant–group follows, consonants of a suffix are not taken into account. Therefore, in the stage *bhid* + *tṛ* the *aṅga* '*bhid*,' which happens to coincide with the verbal base, is *laghūpadha* 'possessing a short pre-final (vowel)'. Therefore P. 7.3.86 can be applied and we derive the form *bhettṛ*, as desired. Again the artificiality of the argument is conspicuous.

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Isn't it possible to get rid of these traditional difficulties in applying P. 7.3.86 by a rather more simple, uniform solution ? The tentative suggestion proposed here is that this rule is concerned with *aupadeśika* elements only. Let us consider the exmples (*bodhati* and *bhettṛ*) and the counter-exmples again.

In *budh* + *ŚaP* + *ti* the *u* of *budh* belongs to an *aṅga* which coincides with a verbal base mentioned in the *Dhātupāṭha*. Therefore the *u* is *aupadeśika*. That is why P. 7.3.86 can be applied

In *kur* + *u* + *te* the *u* of *kur* is the outcome of two grammatical operations, one replacing the *ṛ* of *kṛ* by *a* + *r* (P. 7.3.84 + 1.1.51), and the other replacing the *a* of *kar* by *u* (P. 6.4.110). Therefore the *u* of *kur* is not *aupadeśika*. That is why P. 7.3.86 cannot be applied.

In *pib* + *a* + *ti* the *i* of *pib* belongs to a substitute prescribed outside the section P. 2.3.52–57. Therefore it is not *aupadeśika* That is why P. 7.3.86 cannot be applied.

In *bhū* + *iṬ* + *tās* + *Ḍā* the *i* belongs to an *aṅga* (*bhavit*) which is the result of a derivational process. Therefore it is not *aupadeśika*. That is why P. 7.3.86 cannot be applied.

In *bhid* + *tṛ* the *i* belongs to an *aṅga* which coincides with a verbal base mentioned in the *Dhātupāṭha*. Therefore the *i* is *aupadeśika*. Moreover, in this *aṅga* the *i* is a short pre-final *iK*-vowel. That is why P. 7.3.86 becomes applicable.

Why is this discussion necessary ? It has been stated at the beginning of this note that Pāṇini has redefined the older term *upadhā*, because it was important for his *upadeśa*. It is therefore argued that the term *upadhā* and terms in which *upadhā* figures as a constituent, like *laghūpadha*, refer to *aupadeśika* elements. The exception here are rules dealing with *prātipadikas* in which the term *upadhā* figures, like P. 6.4.14. *Prātipadikas* are outside Pāṇini's *upadeśa*.

1.1.66 TASMINN ITI NIRDIṢṬE PŪRVASYA 'when (a grammatical item) has been mentioned as locative form, (then the grammatical operation is to be applied) to (the item) immediately preceding (the item mentioned in the locative).

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under P. 1.1.3, note 1, and 1.1.46 note 1.

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2. By the introduction of a new incompatible *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are automatically discontinued. See Joshi–Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

The *uddeśya* is *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe*, the *vidheya* is *pūrvasya*.

3. As stated by Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 171, lines 25–26), a *sarvanāman* 'pronoun' is *sāmānyavācin* 'expressing something in general'. Here what is general is the appearance as a locative form. Any particular locative form will serve as an example. In fact, *tasmin* stands for any locative item.

The use of the locative ending thus defined belongs to Pāṇini's meta–language, the technical language he invented for describing the language actually used, Patañjali's *dvitīyaḥ prayogaḥ* (*Mbh.* I, p. 79, lines 20–21; see under 1.1.24, note 4). Compare P. 6.1.77, *aci*, or P. 7.3.84, *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*. Thus it is clear that this *pb.* is not concerned with locatives indicating meaning–conditions like *bhāve* (P. 3.1.107), *kārake* (P. 1.4.23), *bhūte* (P. 3.2.84), *kartari* (P. 3.1.68; 3.4.67), *karmaṇi* (P. 2.3.2; 3.4.69) *chandasi* (P. 2.4.39) or *mantre* (P. 2.4.80).

4. Usually, in Sanskrit the word *iti* is used to indicate a quotation. But in grammar *iti* serves, not to indicate reference to wordforms, but to indicate reference to meaning, as an exception to P. 1.1.68. See under P. 1.1.44, note 3. Thus, whereas in grammar the form *gauḥ* refers to the wordform *g–au–ḥ*, the expression *gaur iti* refers to the thing–meant. See *BDA*, Note (96). Accordingly, the expression *tasminn iti* refers to what is denoted by *tasmin*, namely, any locative form.

5. Do we write *tasminn iti* or *tasmin niti*? Strictly, according to P. 8.3.32 and P. 1.1.46, the second way is correct. But P. 8.3.32 has been phrased to prevent the retroflexation of the first *n* in the group *–nn* at the end of a *pada*, precisely by dividing this group up and assigning the second *n* to the following word. The result is that the first *n* comes in *pada*–final position. Therefore P. 8.4.37 applies, which prohibits retroflexation. But in *tasminn iti* the question of retroflexation does not arise. Therefore this spelling is preferred because, in fact, the doubling originates in word–final position.

6. The genitive *pūrvasya*, like *uttarasya* in P. 1.1.67, deals with substitution. Therefore, wherever P. 1.1.66 and 67 become applicable, *pūrvasya* and *uttarasya* become qualifiers of genitive terms there. For instance, P. 6.1.77, *iko yaṇ aci*, is to be interpreted as *pūrvasya ikaḥ yaṇ aci*, and P. 6.3.97, *dvyantarupasargebhyo 'pa īt*, is to be interpreted as *dvyantarupasargebhyaḥ*

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uttarasya apaḥ īt. But in P. 1.1.66 and 67 the genitives *pūrvasya* and *uttarasya* are ordinary genitives in connection with which we supply the phrase *kāryaṃ bhavati* 'the grammatical operation is to be applied (to the the immediately preceding or following item)'.

7. According to *Vt.* I on P. 1.1.66, the word *nirdiṣṭe*, which, strictly speaking, is not required, has the special purpose of informing us that the question is of *ānantarya* 'immediate sequence'. Therefore *pūrva* is to be taken in the sense of 'immediately preceding'. Compare *STHANI*, Pt. I, Note (114). The *Nyāsa* on the *KV* on the present rule explains *nirdiṣṭaḥ* as *nirantaraṃ diṣṭaḥ* 'mentioned without anything coming in between'.

The idea of the commentators in ascribing a special purpose to the word *nirdiṣṭe*, and in interpreting *nir* as *nirantaram* is to have Pāṇini's explicit sanction for what is implicitly understood. We will come across many more such re-interpretations of Pāṇinisūtras by tradition.

Actually, we arrive at the sense of *ānantarya* in connection with *pūrva* (and *uttara*) by exercising our common sense. If, for instance, the word *pūrva* in P. 1.1.68 would refer to just any preceding *ik*-vowel, then P. 6.1.77 would be without any purpose.

8. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 171, lines 19-20) quotes P. 6.1.77, *iko yaṇ aci*, as an example for P. 1.1.66. Here the locative term is *aci*. It tells us (on the basis of P. 1.1.66) that the operation prescribed, namely, the substitution of an *ik*-vowel by a semi-vowel, is to be applied to an *iK*-vowel which immediately precedes another vowel or diphthong. In this way, the sequence of the items concerned, namely, *iK*-vowel + unspecified vowel (or diphthong), becomes fixed, Only in this sequence can P. 6.1.77 be applied. Thus we derive *dadhy atra* 'here is curds', and *madhv atra* 'here is honey'. A counter-example is *agnicid atra* 'here is the arranger of the sacrificial fire'. In this expression P. 6 1.77 cannot apply, because the sequence-condition laid down by P. 1.1.66 is not met.

1.1.67 TASMĀD ITY ŪTTARASYA '(when a grammatical item has been mentioned) as an ablative form, (then the grammatical operation is to be applied) to (the item) immediately following (the item mentioned in the ablative)'.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under 1.1.3, note 1, and 1,1.46, note 1.

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2. The word *nirdiṣṭe* is continued from P. 1.1.66. *Tasminn iti* and *pūrvasya* in this lattter rule are discontinued by the matching incompatible items *tasmād iti* and *uttarasya*.

The *uddeśya* is *tasmād iti*, the *vidheya* is *uttarasya*.

3. For the sense of *tasmāt* see under 1.1.66, note 3.

4. For the sense of *iti* see under 1.1.66, note 4.

5. For the meaning of the genitive *uttarasya* see under 1.1.66, note 6.

6. For the sense of *ānantarya* 'immediate sequence' see under 1.1.66, note 7.

7. Not any ablative used in the *A.* has the technical sense defined here. Compare note 3, under 1.1.66. The ablative ending used in the *adhyāyas* 3–5 does not convey the sense of *uttarasya* (sc. *kāryaṃ bhavati*), because here Pāṇini explicitly says *paraḥ* (P. 3.1.2).

Further, we note that in the 3rd *adhyāya*, which is an early part of the text of the *A.*, the genitive, especially the dual of this case, is used in the sense of a dual abl. For instance, P. 3.2.5; 8; 13; 29; 31. Possibly, in older strata of the language the dual genitive and ablative forms were identical.

8. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 171, lines 20–21) quotes P. 6.3.97, *dvyantar-upasargebhyo 'pa ī́t*, as an example for P. 1.1.67. Here the ablative term is *dvyantarupasargebhyaḥ*. It tells us (on the basis of P. 1.1.67) that the operation prescribed, namely, the substitution of the initial (P. 1.1.54) of the noun-stem *ap* by long *ī́* is to be applied to this initial when it immediately follows after *dvi*, *antar* or after a preverb. In this way also, the sequence of the items concerned, namely, *dvi* + *ap*, *antar* + *ap*, or *upasarga* + *ap*, becomes fixed. Only in this sequence P. 6.3.97 can be applied. Thus we derive *dvī́pa* 'island', *antarī́pa* 'peninsula' and *samī́pa* 'nearness'.

The *KV* quotes P. 8.2.28, *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*, as an example. Here the ablative form is *atiṅaḥ*. It tells us (on the basis of P. 1.1.67) that the operation prescribed, namely, the loss of accent, is to be applied to a finite verbform, when it immediately follows after an item which is not a finite verbform. In this way, the sequence of the items concerned, namely, what is not a finite verbform + finite verbform, becomes fixed. Only in this sequence can P. 8.2.28 be applied. The *KV* provides the example *odanaṃ pacati* 'he cooks porridge'. Here the finite verb *pacati* is without *udātta*. The counter-example is *pácaty odanam*, where *pácaty* is *ādyudātta* by P. 6.1.162.

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Another example is P. 8.4.61, *udaḥ sthāstambhoḥ pūrvasya*, for which see under P. 1.1.54, note 6. Here the ablative term is *udaḥ*. It tells us (on the basis of P. 1.1.67) that the operation prescribed, namely, the substitution of the initial of *sthā*– by a *savarṇa*–sound, is to be applied to this initial, when it immediately follows after *ud*. Therefore this rule is not applied when the sequence–condition laid down by P. 1.1.67 is not met, as in forms like *ud–a–sthāt* ' he stood up ' (3 sg. root–aorist), where the augment *a* intervenes between *ud* and *sthā*.

1.1.68 SVAṂ RŪPAṂ ŚABDASYĀŚABDASAṂJÑĀ ' (when a metalinguistic item is mentioned in a rule for purposes of grammatical operation, then) the own (phonetic) form of the meta–linguistic item (is to be understood), with the exception of a technical name for the meta–linguistic item '.

1. The character of the rule is somewhat in doubt. Kaiyaṭa, commenting on the rule itself, mentions two opinions. According to some (*kecit*), it is a *paribhāṣā* which serves to impose a restriction in the sense that, in the case of operations on *śabdas*, synonyms are excluded. But others (*anye*) say, it is a *saṃjñā*–rule. Finally Kaiyaṭa says that, as far as the result is concerned, it does not make any difference. The *SK*, No. 25, on the present rule takes the second opinion: it is a *saṃjñā*–rule defining the term *śabda* in grammar. The *saṃjñin* is *śabdasya svaṃ rūpam*.

The *KV* does not express any opinion on this point, nor does the *Nyāsa*. The *Padamañjarī* adopts Kaiyaṭa's first opinion.

2. The translation of the rule also causes difficulties, The paraphrase given by the *KV* reads *śāstre svaṃ eva rūpaṃ śabdasya grāhyaṃ ..bhavati na bāhyo 'rthaḥ śabdasaṃjñāṃ varjayitvā* ' in grammar we have to understand the own form of a *śabda* only, not the exterior thing–meant, with the exception of a technical name of a *śabda* '. Apparently, the *KV* discontinues any element from a previous rule, and takes *śabdasya* as the *uddeśya*.

To start with the *anuvṛtti*, there is nothing in P. 1.1.68 which prevents the continuation of the word *nirdiṣṭe* from P. 1.1.66. Nor do considerations of *sāmarthya* prevent this continuation. Only, when *nirdiṣṭe* is continued, we have to think of a suitable object which is *nirdiṣṭa*. Such an object can be easily provided from P. 1.1.68 itself, namely, *śabda*. That gives us *śabde nirdiṣṭe* ' when a *śabda* is mentioned ', obviously, in a rule of grammar. In the

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translation adopted above, this constitutes the *uddeśya*. It follows that the whole of P. 1.1.68, as stated, represents the *vidheya*, including the exception.

Then how to translate the word *śabda*? The items intended by P. 1.1.68 are not what we call words. They are rather elements belonging to Pāṇini's meta-language, for which see under 1.1.66, note 3. An enumeration of these elements is given by Patañjali (*Mbh*. I, p. 261, line 10) as follows : *dhātuprātipadikapratyayanipātāgamādeśāḥ* 'verbal bases, nominal stems, suffixes, particles, augments and substitutes'. They are items usually mentioned in the nominative, ablative, genitive or locative in a rule. This is why the translation *meta-linguistic item* has been adopted in the translation given above.

3. The exception made for technical names is obvious, because *saṃjñās* never refer to their own form, but always to the *saṃjñin* 'item thus named'.

4. As an example for P. 1.1.68 the KV quotes P. 4.2.33, *agner ḍhak*. It is also used by Patañjali (*Mbh*. I, p. 179, line 27). This rule prescribes the *taddhita* suffix *ḌHaK* in the sense of 'this is his deity' after *agni*. Here, obviously, *agni* can only refer to the wordform *a-g-n-i*. As Patañjali (*Mbh*. I, p. 175, line 25) says, in grammar we cannot operate on things-meant. Thus we derive the form *āgneya*.

5. The words *svam rūpam* in P. 1.1.68 are traditionally taken to imply that any synonyms of the form mentioned in a rule are excluded. Thus, in the example quoted, we are not supposed to add *ḌHaK* to the form *dhūmaketu*, which is a synonym of *agni*. Allowance for synonyms in specific cases is made by *Vts* V-VIII on the present rule.

1.1.69 (a) AṆUDIT '(a phoneme included in the *pratyāhāra* "comprehensive designation") *aṆ* and an item marked with (the *anubandha* "tag-letter") *U* (stands for its own form)'.

(b) SAVARṆASYA CĀPRATYAYAḤ 'also for its *savarṇa* "homogeneous" (speechsound), with the exception of (*aṆ* or the *udit* item functioning as) a suffix'.

1. In the translation adopted above the traditional rule P. 1.1.69 is taken as two rules distinguished as (a) and (b). As regards the traditional one rule, the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* here emphatically says that it is a *saṃjñāsūtra*, not a *paribhāṣā*. The *Padamañjarī* agrees, and says that it is not a *paribhāṣā*, because it deals with something already known. The idea is that, like any *pratyāhāra*, the terms *aṆ* and *udit* are *saṃjñās*. This being so, what the present rule does is stating that the phonemes included in *aṆ* and *udit* become

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a kind of second-degree *saṃjñās*, namely, of their *savarṇa*-varieties also. Therefore P. 1.1.69 is regarded as a *saṃjñāsūtra*. Patañjali and the *KV* are silent on this point.

In the translation adopted above, P. 1.1.69 (a) and (b) are *paribhāṣās*, because they are helpful in interpreting particular technical expressions belonging to Pāṇini's *upadeśa*.

2. The paraphrase given by the *KV* for the present rule reads *aṇ gṛhyamāṇa udic ca savarṇānāṃ grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya pratyayaṃ varjayitvā* 'aṆ being understood (as formed with the second Ṇ in the *Śivasūtras*) and an *udit* item stands for its *savarṇa*-varieties and also for its own form, with the exception of (*aṆ* or the *udit* item functioning as) a suffix'.

Two points here deserve attention. In the first place, the opinion stated by the *KV* that the Ṇ used in *aṆ* is the second Ṇ. Reference is to the *Śivasūtras*. The point is to include the vowels *ṛ* and *ḷ*, the diphthongs, the semivowels and *h*. It is rather difficult to explain why the *anubandha* Ṇ has been used twice in the *Śivasūtras* when several other *anubandhas* are available. Maybe this is due to the fact that the *Śivasūtras*, like the *A*., have passed through several stages.

In the second place, as stated by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* here, the words *svaṃ rūpam* are continued from P. 1.1.68, and changed into *svasya rūpasya* by *vibhaktivipariṇāma*, to fit the new context. In connection with this genitive we supply *grāhaka* or *vācaka* in the sense of 'standing for, referring to'. But what is remarkable in the traditional interpretation of P. 1.1.69 is that first *aṆ* and an *udit* item are declared to stand for their *savarṇa*-varieties, and only afterwards for their own form also. This seems to be a reversal of the logical order.

Since the *A*. was a text consisting of individual *sūtras*, but orally transmitted in continuous recitation, one of the problems in the interpretation was how to mark off individual *sūtras*. We have become used to the division of *sūtras* as adopted by the *KV* and followed by Böhtlingk in his edition of the *A*. But the question may be asked whether the text itself provides clues applied systematically to mark off individual *sūtras*. Compare Joshi- Bhate, 1983, p. 7. It can be shown that in this respect the particle *ca* plays a significant role. In fact, this particle may function as a boundary marker. See Joshi- Bhate, 1984, p. 36, 244. It is assumed that this is also the function of *ca* in what is traditionally known as P. 1.1.69. Here *ca* is taken to indicate that with the word *savarṇasya* a new rule starts. That gives us two rules indicated

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as (a) and (b), as stated above. It is further assumed that in (a) the words *svaṃ rūpam* are continued from P. 1.1.68, but changed into *svasya rūpasya* sc. *grāhakaḥ bhavati* 'stands for its own form', to fit the new context, and that in (b) these words are discontinued on account of incompatibility with *savarṇasya*. Here the logical order is maintained : first *aṆ* and an *udit* item stand for their own form in direct conjunction with P. 1.1.68, and subsequently they are declared to stand for their *savarṇa* varieties also.

3. We note that *apratyayaḥ* does not grammatically agree with the sg. ntr. (*dvandva* cp.) *anudit*. The same holds for the supplied word *grāhakaḥ*. Tradition has noted similar cases and phrased a *paribhāṣā* (*PN, pb.* 73) saying that in a Pāṇini-sūtra gender and number are *atantra*, that is, without authority to teach us something, not intentionally used.

4. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 177, lines 19–20) thinks that the formulation *apratyayaḥ* 'except when (*aṆ* and the *udit* item function as) a suffix' is too narrow. He proposes to phrase a (*Bhāṣya–*) *vārttika* which says *apratyayādeśaṭitkinmita iti vaktavyam* 'the statement *apratyādeśaṭitkinmitaḥ* "with the exception of (*aṆ* and *udit* functioning as) a suffix, a substitute, or as marked with (the *anubandhas*) *Ṭ*, *K* or *M*" should be made'. By being marked with *Ṭ*, *K* or *M* Patañjali means augments. They are of three types only, namely, *Ṭit* (like in P. 7.2.35), *Kit* (like in P. 6.4.88, *vUK*; the semivowel *v* is included in *aṆ*) or *Mit* (like in P. 7.3.92; 7.1.99). So instead of Pāṇini's exception for *aṆ* and *udit* as a suffix, Patañjali wants to have an exception for *aṆ* and *udit* as a suffix, substitute or augment.

As an example for his *vārttika* Patañjali refers to P. 5.3.3, *idam iŚ*, which teaches the substitution of *idam* by *i*. A form derived with the help of this rule is *itas*, for which see under P. 1.1.55, note 4. The point Patañjali wants to make is that, since the substitute phoneme *i* is included in *aṆ*, it represents its *savarṇa* varieties also, as distinguished by accent, nasality and quantity (see *Vt.* I on P. 1.1.69). Now when the question is of replacing *idam* by *i*, we will ask, which *i* ? Short *i*, long *ī*, nasal *i*, *anudātta i* ? Since, obviously any differences of nasality and accent are not relevant here, the choice is between different quantities of *i*. The *sthānin idam* can be counted as three *mātrās*. Therefore the corresponding replacement vowel *i* should also count three *mātrās*, or at least two, as an approximation. That limits the choice to *pluta i* or long *ī*, neither of which is desired. In this way, Patañjali wants to show that Pāṇini's formulation *apratyayaḥ* is too narrow. Phonemes included in *aṆ* and *udit* when functioning as substitutes should also be exempted.

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Similar examples can be quoted for augments as marked with the letters *Ṭ*, *K* or *M*. For instance, the augment *i* mentioned as *iṬ* in P. 7.2.35 never represents a *savarṇa* variety, but its own form only. The conclusion is that phonemes included in *aṆ* and *udit*, when functioning as augments, should be exempted too.

However, Patañjali in proposing his *vārtika* misses the point of P. 1.1.69. This rule applies when the phonemes a, i, u, etc. included in the *pratyāhāra aṆ* are mentioned without *anubandha*, not as *iṬ* or *iŚ*, or when phonemes are mentioned by a *pratyāhāra* provided with *U*. When substitutes are prescribed otherwise, that is, independently of *aṆ* or *udit*, they do not come under the *aṆ* or *udit* of P. 1.1.69. The same holds for augments. That is why Patañjali's additional statement is not required. We note that the *KV* on the present rule does not mention it.

But then why does P. 1.1.69 say *apratyayaḥ*? Clearly, here the same reasoning should apply. Here the *KV* provides the correct counterexamples. Reference is to P. 3.2.168 which introduces the single phoneme *kṛt*–suffix *u*, and to P. 4.3.9, which introduces the single phoneme *taddhita* suffix *a*, both without an *anubandha*. Therefore these two suffixes *u* and *a* may come under *aṆ*, and, consequently, represent their *savarṇa* varieties also. But this is not desired. To prevent the over-application of P. 1.1.69 here, the exception *apratyayaḥ* has been stated. Curiously, these counter-examples are not found in Patañjali's *bhāṣya* on the present rule, nor in the commentaries on this rule.

Later tradition must have forgotten what the point is of the counter-examples provided by the *KV*. For later tradition the rule is that single letter suffixes, substitutes and augments without *anubandha* never stand for their *savarṇa* varieties. Therefore, to allow the representation of *savarṇa* varieties in particular cases, tradition phrases a *pb*. This is *PN*, *pb*. 20. It says that the single letter substitute *u*, even when it is prescribed as such, by a rule stands for its *savarṇa*–varieties also. Thus we derive the forms *amum* and *amūbhyām* (see under P. 1.1.50, note 5).

But, to our understanding, a single letter substitute without *anubandha* and which is included in *aṆ* does represent its *savarṇa* varieties also. No additional rule is required.

In passing, we note that in the *A*. there is no single letter augment without *anubandha*.

The *KV* does not say anything about suffixes, substitutes or augments to be excluded. It provides the correct counterexamples to P. 1.1.69. Therefore

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we take it that the *KV* knows an authentic grammatical tradition, different from that of Patañjali.

5. As is known, the *savarṇa* varieties of the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are eighteen in all for each case, as distinguished according to *svara* 'accent', *ānunāsikya* 'nasality' and *kāla* 'quantity' (see *Vt.* I on P. 1.1.69). Now in Skt. grammatical tradition as known to Bhartṛhari in his *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā*, followed by Kaiyaṭa (see *ATA*, Kaiyaṭa on *Bh.* No. 18 on P. 2.1.2), the question is raised whether P. 1.1.69 is to be applied to P. 1.1.69 itself. If so, the consequence is that short *a*, etc., long *ā*, etc., and *pluta a*, etc., included in *aN*, would all of them stand for their *savarṇa* varieties also. More specifically, this would mean that the long vowels included in *aN* would represent their short *savarṇa* varieties also. In this connection Bhartṛhari very pointedly says *grahaṇāṇgrahaṇe grahaṇābhāvaḥ* 'there is no inclusion (of all varieties of vowels) in the mention of (the term) *āN* in the *grahaṇa* (–rule)'. That is to say, we should not think that all vowels included in *aN* in P. 1.1.69 stand for their *savarṇa* varieties also.

Even earlier Kātyāyana (*Vt.* IV on P. 1.1.10) had already touched on the same point, when he introduced the notion of *vākyāparisamāpti* 'incompleteness of statement' when discussing the question whether P. 1.1.69 applies to P. 1.1.10. In order to apply P. 1.1.69 we should be in a position to understand this rule. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 64, lines 11–14, repeated on p. 178, line 24– p. 179, line 1, *bhaṣya* on *Vt.* IV on P. 1.1.69) neatly sums up the prerequisites of understanding P. 1.1.69. First we have the *akṣarasamāmnāya*, that is, the *Śivasūtras*. Then we must know the *it-saṃjñā* (P. 1.3.3), then the formation of *pratyāhāras* (P. 1.1.71), then the *savarṇa–saṃjñā* (P. 1.1.9–10). Only when provided with this knowledge we are in a position to understand P. 1.1.69. Here the *Śivasūtras* plus the rules mentioned including P. 1.1.69 form one interconnected whole which Kātyāyana calls a *vākya*. Now the point is that this complete interconnected whole is required when the question is of the representation of *savarṇa* varieties. As stated by Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 64, lines 14–15), *etena sarveṇasamuditena vākyenānyatra savarṇānāṃ grahaṇaṃ bhavati* 'by means of this whole combined statement it becomes possible (to speak of) the representation of *savarṇa* (varieties) elsewhere'. That is to say, only when we possess the knowledge provided by the combined statement as a whole, we are in a position to apply P. 1.1.69 and the concept of *savarṇagrahaṇa* 'the representation of *savarṇa* varieties' with regard to other rules. But we cannot do this with regard to one of the constituents of Kātyāyana's *vākya*. More specifically, we cannot apply P. 1.1.69 to P. 1.1.10

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or to P. 1.1.69 itself. Here the first case amounts to *itaretarāśraya* 'mutual dependence', a logical fallacy, because in order to understand P. 1.1.69 we need to know what is meant by *sāvarṇya* as defined by P. 1.1.9–10, whereas in order to understand P. 1.1.10 we need to know what is included in *aC* as defined by P. 1.1.69. The second case, that of applying P. 1.1.69 to itself would imply that we assume the meaning of the rule in order to interpret it.

As a matter of fact, Kātyāyana's notion of *vākyāparisamāpti* is un-Pāṇinian. The *sūtras* of the *A.* form an interconnected whole. At all times the knowledge of all rules is presupposed for the understanding and application of all other rules. Therefore it must be permitted to interpret P. 1.1.10 with the help of P. 1.1.69.

But what about applying P. 1.1.69 to P. 1.1.69? Even if theoretically the long vowels included in *aÑ* would be taken to stand for their *savarṇa* varieties also, there is no harm. The point is that in the *A.* the long vowels are usually followed by *T* (by P. 1.1.70). Therefore they can only represent those *savarṇa* varieties which possess the same length. There may be a few instances of the mention of long vowels without *T*, but they provide no systematic difficulty and will be discussed in due order. We assume therefore that the argument about the *vākyāparisamāpti* and the application of P. 1.1.69 to itself is alien to Pāṇini. We note that it has not been mentioned in the *KV*, whether on P. 1.1.9–10, or on P. 1.1.69.

6. Since, according to the *vākyāparisamāpti*-view of Kātyāyana, P. 1.1.69, is not to be applied to P. 1.1.10, this latter rule comes to mean that only those vowels included in *aC* which are mentiond in the *Śivaśūtras* are not homogeneous (*savarṇa*) with consonants. The consequence is that long *ā*, *ī*, *ū* and *ṝ*, which are not mentioned in the *Śivasūtras* are considered *savarṇa* with consonants. But this leads to absurd results. For instance, in *kumārī śete* 'the girl sleeps' the long *ī* will be considered *savarṇa* with the *ś*. Therefore P. 6.1.101 applies. That gives us *kumārī ete*, and subsequently, after applying P. 6.1.77, *kumāry ete*. To remove this difficulty and other similar difficulties, tradition offers *ad hoc* solutions, which are not required.

7. Traditionally, P. 1.1.69 is known as the *grahaṇakaśāstra* 'rule teaching the representation (of speechsounds by other speechsounds)'. This name is not found in the *Mbh.*, but the *KV* on P. 1.1.70 uses it.

1.1.70 TAPARAS TATKĀLASYA '(a speechsound) followed by *T* (stands for that *savarṇa* "homogeneous" speechsound only) which has the (same) quantity of that (preceding speechsound)'.

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1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under 1.1.3, note 1, and 1.1.46, note 1.

2. The word *savarṇasya*, is continued from P. 1.1.69. According to the *KV*, the words *svasya rūpasya* are continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 1.1.68, in order to ensure reference to the own form of the speechsound, that is the vowel concerned. But, according to the rule-division assumed above (see under P. 1.1.69, note 1), the expression *svasya rūpasya* has been discontinued in P. 1.1.69 (b). Therefore it cannot be continued in P. 1.1.70. In fact, its continuation is not required, because, by P. 1.1.70, a vowel followed by *T* can have six varieties anyway, according to accent and nasality. These varieties always include the form of the given vowel itself.

3. As stated by the *KV*, the present rule serves as a prescriptive rule (*vidhyartham*; Kātyāyana, *Vt.* II on the present rule speaks of *prāpaka*). The idea is that P. 1.1.69 applies to those vowels included in *aṆ* only which have been mentioned in the *Śivasūtras*, not to their long or *pluta* varieties. Consequently, these latter varieties are not considered to stand for their *savarṇa* sounds, because they are not included in *aṆ*. To have the long and *pluta* varieties represent their *savarṇa* sounds also, tradition says that P. 1.1.70 is *vidhyartham*. That is to say, it serves as a prescriptive rule for those *savarṇa* varieties which we cannot have by P. 1.1.69, according to its traditional explanation.

However, as regards the *aṆ*-vowels mentioned in the *Śivasūtras*, and which are followed by *T*, they can be had from P. 1.1.69 also. In this respect P. 1.1.70 serves no purpose. To make this rule purposeful in this respect also, it is assumed that P. 1.1.70 is restrictive (Kātyāyana, *Vt.* I on the present rule says *niyamārtham*). Accordingly, P. 1.1.70 is taken to mean that an *aṆ*-vowel followed by *T* represents that *savarṇa* variety only which has the same length as the *aṆ*-vowel concerned.

4. Although Pāṇini uses the restrictive word *eva* in a number of rules, he may not do so in other rules where it is required. In such cases we have to understand it contextually, namely, after the last word of the rule concerned. Thus, in the present rule, we will understand *tatkālasya eva* '(represents a *savarṇa* vowel) having the length of that (vowel preceding *T*) only', and not *tapara eva tatkālasya* ' only (a vowel) followed by *T* (represents a *savarṇa* vowel) having the length of that (vowel preceding *T*)'.

5. In connection with *tapara* the *KV* supplies the word *varṇa* ' speechsound '. The speechsound meant here is always a vowel, with one

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exception, namely, P. 7.1.90, *goto ṇit*, where reference is not to a vowel but to the form *go*. Tradition holds that this rule is to be applied when *go* has the form of *go* only, not that of *gu*.

6. Patañjali in his *bhāṣya* on the present rule does not discuss the meaning of the word *taparaḥ*. But earlier, in the *bhāṣya* on *Vt.* XIII on P. 1.1.1 he has done so. Here (*Mbh.* I, p. 42, lines 20–21) two interpretations of the word *tapara* are accepted, a *bv.*–interpretation in the sense of *taḥ paro yasmāt* '(that) after which *T* comes', and on the authority of a non–named grammarian, an ablative *tp.*– interpretation in the sense of *tāt paraḥ* 'which comes after *T*'. The *KV* almost literally follows Patañjali here.

Here we are confronted with two questions. First, how can we understand two different meanings from one and the same word, and secondly, what purpose is served by these two interpretations? In answer to the first question, the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* on P. 1.1.70 says that we have to assume a repetition of the word *tapara*. Accordingly, the rule should really read *taparataparas tatkālasya*, a rather fanciful idea.

The answer to the second question requires some more explanation. As the reason (*liṅga*) for the *bv.*–interpretation the Nyāsa offers P. 7.1.9, *ato bhisa ais*. The rule means that after a pre–suffixal stem (*aṅga*) ending in short *a* the case ending *bhis* is to be replaced by *ais*. Therefore this rule is not applied in forms like *khaṭvābhiḥ* 'by means of cots' in which the *aṅga* ends in long *ā*. Here the *bv.*–interpretation of the word *tapara* is clearly required. In fact, the *bv.*–interpretation is the regular one.

Then, as the reason for the *tp.*– interpretation the *Nyāsa* offers P. 1.1.1, *vṛddhir ādaic*. The point of the argument is stated by Patañjali (*Mbh.* I., p. 42, lines 14–15) as follows : *ānantaryatas trimātracaturmātrāṇāṃ sthāninām trimātracaturmātrā ādeśā mā bhūvan* 'so that for originals counting three or four *mātras* there should not be substitutes counting three or four *mātras*'.

Consider the cp.–formation stage *parama*+*aiśvarya* 'highest sovereignty'. Here P. 6.1.88, *vṛddhir eci*, becomes applicable. Accordingly, we will replace both *–a* and *ai–* by a single *vṛddhi* sound. *Vṛddhi* means *ā*, *ai* or *au*. Now if we apply P. 1.1 69 to P. 1.1.1, and if we consider the word *āt* in P. 1.1.1 to be an instance of *taparakaraṇa* 'appending a *T*' by P. 1.1.70, then we infer that *ai* and *au* may represent their *savarṇa* varieties, whereas *ā* cannot, because of the added *T*. Thus, in the stage *parama* + *aiśvarya*, for the single substitute of *–a* and *ai–*, we have two candidates, namely, (long) *ai* and *pluta ai*.

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When the question is of selecting substitutes of speechsounds, we have recourse to P. 1.1.50. This rule tells us to select the nearest (*antaratama*) candidate. Since the *sthānin* –*a* + *ai*– counts three *mātras*, we select *pluta ai* as the substitute. That would give us *paramai3śvarya*. But this is not desired. To avoid such a consequence, grammatical tradition assumes that speechsounds following *T* also stand for their *tatkāla savarṇa* varieties only. In other words, in *vṛddhir āT–aiC* the *ai* and *au* become restricted to the long variety only. It follows that the question of a *pluta* substitute in *parama* + *aiśvarya* does not arise.

As a matter of fact, *pluta* only applies, when it has been specially prescribed, as stated by a *ślokavārttika* (*Mbh.* I, p. 199, line 1) : *plutaś ca viṣaye smṛtaḥ* 'but *pluta* has been taught in its (own) domain (and not elsewhere)'. Therefore *sandhi* rules which do not directly prescribe *pluta* cannot be applied to lead to a substitution of *pluta*.

1.1.71 ĀDIR ANTYENA SAHETĀ 'an initial (speechsound mentioned) together with a final (speechsound) which is (called) *it* (stands for the intermediate speechsounds)'.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under 1.1.3, note 1, and 1.1.46, note 1.

2. According to the *KV*, the expression *svasya rūpasya* is continued (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 1.1.68. The idea is that this expression is required in P. 1.1.71 to have reference to the initial also, and not just to the sounds intervening between the initial and final.

However, as stated under 1.1.69, note 2, the expression *svasya rūpasya* is discontinued in 1.1.69 (b). See also under 1.1.70, note 2. Therefore it cannot be continued in P. 1.1.71.

Instead, we have to assume a clue on the basis of Pāṇini's practice that initials form part of a *pratyāhāra*. This has nothing to do with the expression *svasya rūpasya*. Moreover, we have to assume that intermediate *it*–sounds do not form part of a *pratyāhāra*. As stated by the *SK* No. 3 on P. 1.3.2, *pratyāhāreṣv itāṃ na grahaṇam. Anunāsikaḥ ityādinirdeśāt. Na hy atra kākaré pare 'ckāryaṃ dṛśyate* 'in *pratyāhāras* there is no inclusion of *it* (–sounds), on account of the mention of (the form) *anunāsika* "nasal", etc. Because here we don't see the operation conditioned by a following vowel, when a *k* follows'. Reference is to P. 6.1.77, *iko yaṇ aci*. Suppose the *anubandha K* were included in the *pratyāhāra aC*, then it would have to be

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treated like a vowel. Consequently, in the word *anunāsika*, by P. 6.1.77, the *i*, being followed by *k* which is to be treated like a vowel, would be replaced by *y*. Within a single word *sandhi* is a must. That would give us the form *anunāsyka*. But such *sandhi* is nowhere found. That gives us a clue, namely, that *K* and other intermediate *it*–sounds do not form part of a *pratyāhāra*.

In the same way, on the basis of a clue provided by Pāṇini's practice, the non–inclusion of the final *it*–letter in the *pratyāhāra* is to be argued. For instance, if the final *C* of *aC* were to form part of the *pratyāhāra*, the *C* would count as a vowel. In that case the application of P. 6.1.77 would lead to totally unacceptable results.

3. The word *itā* is qualified by *antyena*, so that *pratyāhāras* should not be formed with an initial *it*-sound. For instance, the *pratyāhāra suṬ* mentioned in P. 1.1.43 and based on P. 4.1.2, is formed with the final *it*–sound of *auṬ*, and not with the initial *it*–sound of *Ṭā*. The difference is that in the first case the case ending *Śas* is excluded, whereas in the second case it would be included, which is not desired.

4. The definition of what Pāṇini calls *it* is stated by P. 1.3.2–8. According to P. 1.3.9, an *it*–sound does not appear in the actual language–form. It only forms part of a grammatical–technical expression.

5. Why the curious word–order *antyena saha itā*, instead of *antyena itā saha*? Presumably the answer is, *metri causa*. It follows that P. 1.1.71 may have been taken from a metrical grammatical text, and is not an original phrasing by Pāṇini.

This raises a further question: could Pāṇini have done without this rule, and left the formation of *pratyāhāras* simply to usage? The answer is almost certainly no. Grammar as a systematic study of language requires a rule prescribing the formation of *pratyāhāras*.

6. Why has the word *saha* been used in the present rule? The use of this word to explain the meaning of the instrumental case ending goes against the practice of other rules, like the section P. 1.2.65–70, in which the instrumental case ending only has been used. The use of *saha* in P. 2.1.4, *saha supā*, on the other hand, has a special function, namely, to indicate that the designation *samāsa* applies to a whole. It may be pointed out, obviously, that, since P. 1.1.71 may have come from a different source, its phrasing need not conform to Pāṇinian usage. But, maybe, there is another aspect of the question.

The basic difficulty in the wording of P. 1.1.71 is that the rule does not contain a *vidheya*. As shown by the translation– which follows the *KV*–the

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vidheya–part of the rule has been supplied. As stated by the *KV*, it reads *tanmadhyapatitānāṃ varṇānāṃ grāhakaḥ* '(the initial together with the final) represents the speechsounds which happen to come in between these two'.

The difficulty has already been noticed by Kātyāyana (*Vt.* I on P. 1.1.71). He says that we cannot understand the rule properly, because the *saṃjñin*, that is, the *vidheya*, has not been mentioned. Then, in *Vt.* II, he proposes a different wording of the rule, namely, *ādir itā saha tanmadhyasya* 'an initial together with an *it*–sound represents what comes in between them'. The word *grāhakaḥ* 'representing' is supplied. But since this implies a change of the original rule, *Vt.* III proposes an alternative. The case of *ādi* 'initial' and *antya* 'final' is not different from that of correlative terms (*saṃbandhiśabda*). As explained by Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 182, lines 9–11), once we refer to a mother or a father, reference to a child is implied. Similarly, in our case, reference to that of which there is an initial and a final is implied.

But even then the difficulty has not been solved. P. 1.1.71 in its original wording, in the traditional interpretation, remains without a *vidheya*. For a grammatical rule this is exceptional. Here a tentative solution is proposed namely, that the word *saha* is itself the *vidheya*. Thus P. 1.1.71 is taken to mean that the initial along with the final, which is an *it*–sound, represent *saha* 'the together', that is, the speechsounds occurring together with the initial and the final. Here the indeclinable *saha* is interpreted in the sense of *sahasya grāhakaḥ* 'representing *saha*'.

Which considerations can be adduced to support the suggestion? In the first place, as indicated above, a rule must have a *vidheya*. In the second place, as indicated above, the formation of *pratyāhāras*, an important aid in grammar, cannot be left to usage. In the third place, in connection with the nominal meaning assumed for *saha* ('the together') and with its interpretation as *sahasya*, reference may be made to P. 5.2.27. This rule contains the cp. *nasaha*, itself an exceptional form by Pāṇinian standards. It functions as a meaning–condition. The *KV* on P. 5.2.27 explains it as *asahārthe* 'when conveying the sense of non–together', a locative, which is the normal form of a meaning–condition. *Asahārthe* is further explained as *pṛthagbhāve* 'when conveying the sense of separateness', a fully nominal meaning. In the fourth place, *saha* indicates that, besides the sounds accompanied, the intervening sounds, there are accompanying sounds also, namely, the initial and the final. *Saha* is associated with the notion of *tulyayoga* 'equal participation (in the action)', see P. 2.1.28. Therefore it may be said that the initial and the final are also included in what constitutes a *pratyāhāra*. In the fifth place, *saha*

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seems preferable to the supplied *vidheya madhyapatita* of tradition, because *madhyapatita* excludes the initial and final whereas *saha* includes both.

1.1.72 YENA VIDHIS TADANTASYA 'by which (most effective) means a grammatical operation (has been prescribed, that is to be taken as representing an item) which ends in that (most effective means)'.

1. This is a *paribhāṣā*, for which see under 1.1.3, note 1, and under P. 1.1.46, note 1.

According to the *Nyāsa*, followed by the *Padamañjarī*, P. 1.1.72 is a *saṃjñāsūtra*, and not a *paribhāṣā* at all. The reason given is that the typical feature of a *paribhāṣā*, namely, *niyamarūpatā* 'possessing the nature of a restrictive rule' is lacking. The idea is that *pbs* operate where options are possible, like *tadanta* 'ending in that' or *atadanta* 'not ending in that'. In such a situation, a *pb.* limits the choice to one option only, like *tadanta*. Such is the nature of *pbs*. But in the present case there are no options. We only have *tad*. Then what could be the character of the present rule ? It is not an ordinary prescriptive rule, nor a rule of transference (*atideśasūtra*), nor a *nipātana* rule. Therefore the term *saṃjñāsūtra* is applied in a loose sense.

In fact, the present rule is a *paribhāṣā*. It lays down a convention for the interpretation of rules. Moreover, it states the *vidheya*, *tadantasya*, in the genitive case. In *saṃjñāsūtras* the *vidheya* is put in the nominative case.

2. The *KV* continues the expression *svasya rūpasya* (with *vibhaktivipariṇāma*) from P. 1.1.68, in order to ensure reference to the item indicated by *yena* itself also. But, as stated under P. 1.1.69, note 2, and P. 1.1.70, note 2, the expression *svasya rūpasya* has been discontinued in P. 1.1.69 (b). Therefore, to argue reference to the item indicated by *yena* itself, we may have recourse to P. 1.1.21, or to *laukikavyavahāra*, for which see under P. 1.1.21, note 6. See also note 5 on the present rule.

As stated by Kaiyaṭa on *Bh.* No. 33 on the present rule, the *Vārttikakāra* has not accepted the continuation of *svasya rūpasya* in P. 1.1.72. Instead, he phrases the statement *tasya ca* '(represents what ends in that) and that (itself also)' (*Vt.* XV on P. 1.1.72). But, as argued above, this *Vt.* is not required.

In the present rule the words *yena vidhis* represent the *uddeśya*, whereas *tadantasya*, represents the *vidheya*. The previous subject and predicate items, which are different, have been discontinued. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

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3. As stated by the *Nyāsa* on the *KV* here, P. 1.1.72 is an exception to P. 1.1.68, *svaṃ rūpam śabdasya*.

4. In the translation given above the word *yena* has been translated according to P. 1.4.42. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 182, line 24 – p. 183, line 1) says *yeneti karaṇa eṣā tṛtīyā. Anyena cānyasya vidhir bhavati. Tad yathā. Devadattasya samāṣaṃ śarāvair odanena ca yajñadattaḥ pratividhatte. Tathā saṃgrāmaṃ hastyaśvarathapadātibhiḥ* ' the word *yena* represents that third (case ending prescribed) in the sense of (most effective) means. And with the help of one thing another thing is brought about. To illustrate, Yajñadatta prepares the meal of Devadatta with the help of dishes and of porridge. Similarly, (one stages) a battle with the help of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers '. The illustration only concerns the meaning of the instrumental case ending as the most effective means. It should not be taken to mean that P. 1.1.72 applies to words in the instrumental case signifying elements of Paṇini's *upadeśa*, that is, metalinguistic elements, because these are never put in the instrumental, except in P. 8.4.40-41 (*ṣṭunā*), where the instrumental case means *saha* ' together '.

5. The most effective means in a statement or a rule is a qualifying word. Normally, such a word is taken to exclude something. For instance, in *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* ' a white cloth ' the qualifying word *śukla* restricts the meaning of *paṭa* by exclnding non-white clothes.

This can be further made clear with the help of the example *er ac* (P. 3.3.56) provided by the *KV*. This rule may be explained as *eḥ dhātoḥ acpratyayaḥ bhavati bhāve* ' after the verbal base *i-* the suffix *aC* is (added) in the sense of impersonal action '. Two element-supplying rules here are P. 3.1.91 (*dhātoḥ*) and P, 3.3.18 (*bhāve*). Thus we see that P. 3.3.56 prescribes the suffix *aC* with the help of two specifications, a very general one, *dhātoḥ* ' after a verbal base ', which holds for the whole of the *kṛt*-section, and a special one, *eḥ* ' after *i* – '. Here the most effective means of qualification is *eḥ*. Therefore, by P. 1.1.72, it is understood in the sense of *ivarṇāntāt* ' after (a verbal base) ending in *i* '. But since the verbal base *i-* consists of one speechsound only, it is also clear that here ' ending in *i* ' (*tadanta*) coincides with *i-* itself (*yad*). Compare P. 1.1.21, note 6.

We note that here P. 1.1.72, which is a *paribhāṣā*, is concerned with an *upadeśa*-element, namely, a verbal base, not with a derived form in Pāṇini's system. So the rule amounts to this that a qualifying word signifying an *upadeśa*-element is to be interpreted as *tadanta* ' ending in that (element) '. Or, to put it in Sanskrit, *aupadeśikaṃ yad viśeṣaṇaṃ tad tadantasya grāhakam*.

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6. *Vt.* XXIX on the present rule says *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe* 'when a speechsound is mentioned (in the locative, as a qualifier of another item, this other item) before which the grammatical operation (is to take place, is to be understood as) beginning with that (speechsound)'. The *Vt.* figures as *pb.* 33 in *PN.* It is an exception to P. 1.1.72. An example is P. 6.1.79, *vāṁto yi pratyaye.* This rule prescribes the replacement of the *eC*–vowels *o* and *au* by an element ending in *v* on the condition phrased as *yi pratyaye.* Here *yi* functions as the qualifier of *pratyaye.* Moreover, *yi* is the mention, in the locative, of a speechsound. Therefore, by *Vt.* XXIX, we interpret *yi* to mean *y–ādau* 'beginning with *y*' (sg. loc.).

7. P. 1.1.72 and *Vt.* XXIX on this rule are usually known as the *tadantavidhi* and the *tadādividhi* respectively.

8. The statement made under note 5, above, that P. 1.1.72, which is a *paribhāṣā,* is concerned with an *upadeśa*–element here, not with a derived form in Pāṇini's system, can be turned into a general statement. We will put forward the proposition that *pbs* in general are not concerned with derived forms (*prātipadikas*) in Pāṇini's system, but with *upadeśa*–elements only. That is to say, they apply to the non–derived basic elements of Pāṇini's system, the building–blocks, the final results of Pāṇini's linguistic analysis only. From this proposition at least three consequences follow:

a. *PN, pb.* 31, which excludes *prātipadikas* 'nominal stems' – clearly derived forms – from the jurisdiction of P. 1.1.72, is not required.

b. *Vt.* III on P. 1.1.72, which excludes rules prescribing compound–formation and suffixation –also derived forms – from the jurisdiction of P. 1.1.72, is not required.

c. *Vt.* IV on P. 1.1.72, which states an exception to *Vt.* III for items provided with the *anubandha U* and for speechsounds, is not required, because such items are *upadeśa*– elements. Therefore P. 1.1.72 will apply.

9. *PN. pb.* 25 says that a suffix mentioned in a rule belonging to the *uttarapada*–section (P. 6.3.1, ff.) is not to be taken to signify a form ending in that suffix. For instance, P. 6.3.50, *hṛdayasya hṛllekhayadaṇlāseṣu,* prescribes the substitution of *hṛd* for *hṛdaya,* when the suffixes *yaT* and *aṆ* are added. Thus we derive the forms *hṛdya* and *hārda.*

How could P. 1.1.72 become applicable here at all? Because *yaT* and *aṆ,* or rather *yati* and *aṇi,* function as qualifiers of *uttarapade.* Then why

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shouldn't P. 1.1.72 become applicable here ? Because the interpretation of *yati* and *aṇi*, as *yadante* and *aṇante* is incompatible with the meaning of the locative ending as laid down by P. 1.1.66, namely, as requiring the immediate succession of a following item. That is to say, if *yati* and *aṇi* were interpreted to mean *yadante* and *aṇante*, the suffixes themselves could not follow immediately after *hṛdaya*. But the intention of P. 6.3.50 is clearly that they should be added immediately after the stem *hṛdaya*.

This raises a further question, namely, whether P. 1.1.72 should be taken to apply to *upadeśa*–elements put in the locative case, even when they function as qualifiers. The answer may be : not necessarily, depending on whether such an interpretation would disturb the meaning–requirement laid down by P. 1.1.66.

10. In the example quoted for *Vt.* XXIX under note 6, namely, P. 6.1.79, *vānto yi pratyaye*, literally, according to Pāṇini's wording, we have two locative conditions : when *y* follows immediately, and when a suffix follows immediately. However, these are not meant to be two separate conditions. They are to be connected. How they are to be connected has been very aptly indicated by Kātyāyana in *Vt.* XXIX.

However, such a connection does not necessarily hold when two locative conditions are stated. For instance, in P. 7.2.1, *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, the conditions *sici* 'when (the aorist marker) *sIC* follows immediately', and *parasmaipadeṣu* 'when the *parasmaipada* endings follow immediately' are meant to be separate conditions. No qualifier – qualified relation holds here. Similarly, in P. 7.2.42, *liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu*, the locative conditions *liṅi* 'when (the optative marker) *liN* follows immediately', and *ātmanepadeṣu* 'when the *ātmanepada* endings follow immediately' are meant to be separate conditions.

1.1.73 VṚDDHIR YASYĀCĀM ĀDIS TAD VṚDDHAM 'that (form) of whose vowels the first one is *vṛddhi* (is called) *vṛddha*'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. The *saṃjñin* – at the same time the *uddeśya*– is *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis* and comes first.

2. By the introduction of a new incompatible *uddeśya* and *vidheya* the previous subject and predicate items are discontinued. See Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 271, convention 4.

3. As stated by the *KV*, the form *ācām* 'of the vowels' is a plural in the sense of *jāti* 'genus'. The *Padamañjarī* on the *KV* here notes that,

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therefore, the rule also applies when the item concerned has two vowels only. If this item has one vowel, the rule applies on account of *vyapadeśivadbhāva* 'treatment like an item which for some reason has received a special designation'. The special designation intended here is *vṛddha*.

4. One of the examples quoted by the *KV* for the present rule is *śālīya* 'situated in the hall'. It is derived as follows :

(1)	(*śālā* + *Ṅi*) + *CHa*		P. 4.1.2; 4.2.114
(2)	(*śālā* + °) + *CHa*		P. 2.4.71
(3)	*śālā*	+ *īya*	P. 7.1.2
(4)	*śāl*°	+ *īya*	P. 6.4.148
	śālīya.		

The suffix *CHa* is a *śaiṣika* suffix, added in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ* 'located / residing there' (P. 4.3.53), by P. 4.2.114, which contains the word *vṛddha*. The point of this mention is to make the addition of *CHa* possible.

5. The counterexample provided by the *KV* is *sābhāsamnayana* 'located in the convocation of the assembly', a derivation from *sabhāsamnayana*. To this latter word we cannot apply the designation *vṛddha*, because the first vowel is not *vṛddhi*. Therefore P. 4.2.114 cannot become applicable, and we cannot use the suffix *CHa*. Instead, to express the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ*, we use the suffix *aṆ*, by P. 4.1.83. That gives us the form *sābhāsamnayana* by P. 7.2.117.

6. The *KV* mentions three *Vts* is connection with the present rule. They are, successively, the *Vts* V, VII and VIII on P. 1.1.73.

Here the first *Vt.* reads *vā nāmadheyasya* (sc.) *vṛddhasaṃjñā vaktavyā*. It declares the optional application of P. 1.1.73, when the question is of a proper name. Thus we derive the forms *devadattīyāḥ* or *daivadattāḥ* (see *Mbh.* I, p. 189, line 24) in the sense of 'located / residing in the *devadatta*–region' (pl. nom.), with the help of the suffixes *CHa* (P. 4.2.112) or *aṆ* (P. 4.1.83; 4.3.53). The name *devadatta* has been listed in the *kāsyādigaṇa* (no. 16 in Böhtlingk's edition of the *gaṇapāṭha*) as the name of a region. Names of a region which contain *e* or *o* in the first syllable are called *vṛddha*, when it is the name of a region located in the East, by P. 1.1.75.

The second *Vt.* reads *gotrāntād vāsamastavat*. It proposes an alternative formulation for *Vt.* VI on P. 1.1.73. It says that, alternatively, we may hold that a suffix is added after an *uttarapada* 'final constituent of a cp.' representing

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a *gotra*–name as if this name did not form part of a cp. One of the examples provided by the *KV*, following Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 190 line 2) is *odana-pāṇinīyāḥ* 'students of Pāṇini for whom porridge is the main thing', that is, persons claiming to be *pāṇinīyas* in order to have a good meal. The derivation of the form *pāṇinīya* is stated by Kaiyaṭa on *Bh.* No. 18 on P. 1.1.73 in detail, as follows :

A.	(1) (*paṇin* + *Ṅas*) + *aṆ*	P. 4.1.2; 4.1.90
	(2) (*paṇin* + °) + *a*	P. 2.4.71
	(3) *paṇina*	P. 7.2.117
	paṇina.	

In stage (2) P. 6.4.144 becomes applicable, which prescribes the deletion of the *ṭi*–portion of *paṇin.* But this is prevented by P. 6.4.165, which specifically mentions *paṇin* as an exception. The meaning of *paṇina* is 'a descendant of Paṇin'.

B.	(1) (*pāṇina* + *Ṅas*) + *iÑ*	P. 4.1.2; 4.1.95
	(2) (*pāṇina* + °) + *i*	P. 2.4.71
	(3) *pāṇin*° + *i*	P. 6.4.148
	pāṇini.	

The suffix *iÑ*, added in stage (1), denotes a *yuvan*–descendant, that is, a descendant counting from the fourth generation onwards, as distinct from a *gotra*–descendant. See further V. S. Agrawala, 1963, p. 431. Thus, *pāṇini* means 'a *yuvan*-descendant of Pāṇina'.

C.	(1) (*pāṇini* + *Ṅas*) + *CHa*	P. 4.1.2; 4.2.114
	(2) (*pāṇini* + °) + *CHa*	P. 2.4.71
	(3) *pāṇini* + *īya*	P. 7.1.2
	(4) *pāṇin* + *īya*	P. 4.1.90
	pāṇinīya.	

As explained by Kaiyaṭa, in stage (1) we do not apply P. 4.2.112, which prescribes the suffix *aṆ* after a stem ending in *i*, but P. 4.2.114, which specifically prescribes *CHa* after a stem called *vṛddha.* The stem *pāṇini* is such a *vṛddha* stem. In stage (4) P. 4.1.90, which prescribes *luk*–deletion of a patronymic suffix added in the sense of *yuvan* (P. 4.1.163), is applied, and not P. 6.4.148, because we want to have the meaning *pāṇineḥ chāttrāḥ* 'students of Pāṇini', and not that of particular descendants of Pāṇini. Here Kaiyaṭa literally follows the *KV* on P. 4.1.90.

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The cp. *odanapāṇiniyāḥ* is an instance of *uttarapadalopisamāsa* (see *BDA*, Introduction, p. xxi–xxii). As explained by the *KV* on the present rule the *uttarapada* supplied is *pradhāna*.

The third *Vt.* reads *jihvākātyaharitakātyavarjam*. It formulates an exception to the previous *Vt.* Therefore the suffix *CHa* is not added here, but *aṆ*, by P. 4.2.111. Thus we derive the forms *jaihvākātāḥ* 'students of Jihvākātya' and *hāritakātāḥ* 'students of *Haritakātya*'.

The *Nyāsa* on the *KV* here explains these formations in more detail, as follows :

A.	(1) (*kata* + *Ṅas*) + *yaÑ*		P. 4.1.105
	(2) (*kata* + °) + *ya*		P. 2.4.71
	(3) *kāta* + *ya*		P. 7.2.117
	(4) *kāt*° + *ya*		P. 6.4.148
	kātya.		

The meaning of *kātya* is 'a *gotra*–descendant of *kata*'. The name *kata* is mentioned in the *lohitādigaṇa*, a sub–*gaṇa* of the *gargādigaṇa*, no. 52 in Böhtlingk's edition of the *gaṇapāṭha*. According to the same *Nyāsa*, the cp. *jihvākātya* is an instance of *uttarapadalopisamāsa*, derived in the sense of *jihvācapalaḥ kātyaḥ* 'a *gotra*–descendant of *kata*, moving to and fro like the tongue'.

B.	(1) (*jihvākātya* + *Ṅas*) + *aṆ*		P. 4.2.111
	(2) (*jihvākātya* + °) + *a*		P. 2.4.71
	(3) *jaihvākātya* + *a*		P. 7.2.117
	(4) *jaihvākāty*° + *a*		P. 6.4.148
	(5) *jaihvākat*° + *a*		P. 6.4.151
	jaihvākata.		

The meaning of *jaihvākata* is 'a student of *Jihvākātya*'. The *śaiṣika* suffix *aṆ* is added by P. 4.2.111 in the sense of a meaning not specified so far, namely, that of *chāttra* 'student'.

According to the *Nyāsa*, *haritakātya* is also an instance of *uttarapadalopisamāsa*. It is derived in the sense of *haritabhakṣaḥ kātyaḥ* 'a *gotra*–descendant of *Kata* eating green food'.

7. We note that the examples for the designation *vṛddha*, introduced by P. 1.1.73, come from the *taddhita*–section exclusively. If it is accepted that the *taddhita*–section has been added later on (see *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Studies in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, 1983, p. 92–93),

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the end of *pāda* 1 of *adhyāya* 1 appears to be the appropriate place for introducing the *saṃjñā* '*vṛddha*'.

8. The present rule uses the expression *ācām ādiḥ* 'the first of the vowels'. Compare P. 7.2.117, *ācām ādeḥ* 'in the place of the first of the vowels'. A different type of expression is used in P. 1.1.47, *acaḥ antyāt* 'after the last vowel'. Following this pattern P. 1.1.73 might have read *ādyaḥ ac* 'the first vowel'. But since this expression is liable to be misunderstood as 'the first (sound) which is a vowel', the expression *ācām ādiḥ* is to be preferred.

9. In P. 2.1.65 the word *vṛddha* is used in a sense different from the one defined by P. 1.1.73. In P. 2.1.65 *vṛddha*, as contrasted with *yuvan*, refers to a word ending in a *gotra*-indicating suffix. Compare *Mbh.* I, p. 248, line 18, *pūrvasūtre gotrasya vṛddham iti saṃjñā kriyate* 'in earlier *sūtra*-works (on grammar) the name *vṛddha* is used for *gotra*'.

1.1.74 TYADĀDĪNI CA 'also, (the forms) *tyad*, etc. (are called *vṛddha*)'.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. Only the *saṃjñin* has been stated.

2. From P. 1.1.73 the *vidheya* – here equal to the *saṃjñā* – is to be continued. The new *uddeśya* introduced by P. 1.1.74 cancels the subject-item of P. 1.1.73, because of incompatibility.

3. The present rule refers to the sub-*gaṇa tyadādi* listed under the *gaṇa sarvādi* in Böhtlingk's edition of the *gaṇapāṭha*. The *tyadādi-gaṇa* consists of pronominal stems. By P. 1.1.74 the designation *vṛddha* is extended to these pronominal stems which are *avṛddha*, that is, whose first vowel is not a *vṛddhi* vowel.

4. The words *yasyācām ādiḥ* from P. 1.1.73 have been discontinued. See further under P. 1.1.75, note 2. The word *ca* has been used redundantly. The *anuvṛtti* of the expression *tad vṛddham* from P. 1.1.73 can be obtained by normal procedure. See Joshi-Bhate, 1984, p. 36-37.

5. One of the examples quoted by the *KV* here is *tyadīyam* 'what belongs to that' (P. 4.3.120). It is derived as follows :

(1)	((*tyad* + *Ṅas*) + *CHa*)) + *sU*	P. 4.1.2; 4.2.112
(2)	((*tyad* + °) + *CHa*)) + *s*	P. 2.4.71
(3)	(*tyad* + *īya*) + *s*	P. 7.1.2
(4)	*tyadīya* + *am*	P. 7.1.24
(5)	*tyadīyam*	P. 6.1.107
	tyadīyam.	

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1.1.75 EṄ PRĀCĀM DEŚE ' when reference is to a region of the Easterners, (a stem of which the first of its vowels is an) *eṄ* (– sound is called *vṛddha*) '.

1. This is a *saṃjñāsūtra*. Only the *saṃjñin* has been stated.

2. The word *vṛddhiḥ*, which forms part of the *uddeśya* of P. 1.1.73, has been discontinued by the incompatible item *eṅ* in the present rule. But the rest of the *uddeśya* of P. 1.1.73, namely, *yasya ācām ādiḥ*, is continued after it has been discontinued in P. 1.1.74. Tradition has coined the name of *maṇḍūkapluti* ' a frog's jump ' for this irregular type of *anuvṛtti*, in which an intervening rule or intervening rules are skipped over. See further Joshi – Bhate, 1984, p. 11, 208–17.

Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 190, lines 17–18) illustrates the continuation of the words *yasyācām ādiḥ* from P. 1.1.73 and the discontinuation of the term *vṛddhiḥ* in the same rule as follows : *kaścit kāntāre samupasthite sārtham upādatte. Sa yadā niṣkāntārībhūto bhavati tadā sārthaṃ jahāti* ' somebody when arriving at a forest, joins a caravan. When he has come out of the forest, he leaves the caravan '. Similarly, expressions may be continued or discontinued as the need arises.

For *kāntāra* and *kāntārapatha* as the trade-route through the Vindhya-forests, see Agrawala, 1963, p. 242.

3. For geographical information regarding what is meant by the Easterners and the region called *prācya*, see Agrawala, 1963, p. 39. Commentators generally assume that the river Śarāvatī – the formation of this name has been prescribed by P. 6.3.120 – forms the border between what is known as *udīcya* ' the north (– western region) ' and *prācya*, but the identification of this river poses difficulties.

At the end of the *KV* on the present rule, by way of *maṅgala*– ' benediction ' a stanza is quoted which reads *prāgudañcau vibhajate haṁsaḥ kṣīrodake yathā | viduṣāṃ śabdasiddhyarthaṃ sā naḥ pātu śarāvatī* ' may (that) Śarāvatī (river) which divides the North and the East like a goose divides milk and water, protect us in order to establish the correct form of words for the learned '.

In Nāgeśa's commentary on Kaiyaṭa on *Bh.* No. 1 on P. 1,1.75, a stanza is quoted from the *Amarakośa* (2.1.6-7), which reads *śarāvatyās tu yo 'vadheḥ | deśaḥ prāgdakṣiṇaḥ prācya udīcyaḥ paścimottaraḥ* ' a region which is southeast of the Śarāvatī, which forms the border, (is called) *prācya*, (whereas a region) northwest (of the Śarāvatī is called) *udīcya* '.

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The term *prācām* is often used in the *A.* in the sense of ' (the speech) of the Easterners '.

As regards *prācām*, Kaiyaṭa on *Bh.* No. 1 on P. 1.1.75 mentions two views. The first is that of a pre-Patañjalian grammarian named Kuṇin. A statement of his as preserved by Kaiyaṭa says *prāggrahaṇam ācāryanirdeśārthaṃ vyavasthitavibhāṣā ca* ' the mention of (the word) *prācām* serves to indicate teachers (of grammar) and (thus we have) a limited option '. For *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*, see *KA*, p. 75, n. 278. The second view is that *prācāṃ* merely qualifies the word *deśe*, as assumed in the translation given above.

4. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I, p. 190, line 20) proposes to read the present rule as *eṅ prācāṃ deśe śaiṣikeṣu*. Thus the condition ' when a *śaiṣika* suffix follows immediately ' is added. *Śaiṣika* suffixes are introduced by P. 4.2.92 and convey other meanings than the ones prescribed from P. 4.1.92 onwards up to inclusive the four meanings of *aṆ* defined by P. 4.2.67–70, as stated by the *KV* on P. 4.2.92. As explained by Kaiyaṭa on *Bh.* No. 1 on P. 1.1.75, the point of the addition of the word *śaiṣikeṣu* is that the application of suffixes, based on the term *vṛddha*, becomes impossible, when the sense of *apatya* ' descendant ' or of *vikāra* ' a change in the original condition ' is conveyed. Here reference is to P. 4.1.92, which introduces *taddhita*–suffixes prior to the *śaiṣika* suffixes, and to P. 4.3.134, which, after the *śaiṣika* suffixes, introduces *taddhita*–suffixes belonging to a different class (*pragdīvyatīya*; see *SK*, No. 1514 on P. 4.3.134).

5. One of the examples mentioned by the *KV* is *eṇīpacanīya* ' one residing in (the region called) *Eṇīpacana* '. It is derived as follows :

(1) *eṇīpacana* + *CHa*	P. 4.2.114
(2) *eṇīpacana* + *īya*	P. 7.2.117
(3) *eṇīpacan°* + *īya*	P. 6.4.148
eṇīpacanīya.	

The example is not found in the *Mbh.* The word *eṇī* has been mentiond in P. 4.3.159 in the sense of ' a female deer '. Literally, *eṇīpacana* should therefore mean ' one who cooks female deer ', if taken as a *bv.* cp. Apparently going by Agrawala, 1963, this region does not form part of the India known to Pāṇini.

6. Suppose the order of the last three rules is changed as follows :

a. *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham,*

b. *eṅ prācāṃ deśe,*

c. *tyadādīni ca.*

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In b. the word *vṛddhiḥ* from a. is discontinued because of incompatibility, whereas the rest of a. is continued. In c. *yasyācām ādiḥ* is discontinued on the basis of *sāmarthya*, whereas b. is discontinued on the basis of common sense (see Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 45–46). In this way the assumption of *maṇḍūkapluti* could have been avoided. Considering that these rules find examples in the *taddhita*–section only, the *maṇḍūkapluti* assumed in the order of rules as given by the *A.* may be taken as a further indication that these rules have been added later on. See also Joshi– Bhate, 1984, p. 208–09.

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INDEX OF SANSKRIT TERMS

The following index contains Sanskrit terms that have been defined or discussed in the introduction, translation and notes. Free numbers refer to the pages in the main book. Numbers within brackets refer to pages of Introduction. Words are listed in the order of Roman Syllabary.

abhāva 99
ābhihita sandhi 64
abhyantara prayatna 13, 14, 68
aṣāṃ ādiḥ 140
ac-tva 83
adarśanam 99
ādeśa 4, 74, 76, 81, 105, 106, 115
ādeśalakṣaṇabhāva 86
ādeśalakṣaṇapratiṣedha 85
adhok 104, 107
ādi (7), 27
adīdhyaka 9
adhikāra 20, 23, 60, 67, 73
adhvaryo adribhiḥ sūtam 21
adya citrā 110
ādyantam ṣaṣṭhyartham 59
āgama (15), 58, 60
aghoṣa 15, 78
aghoṣatā 14
agner ḍhak 122
agnicidatra 119
agnicit 104, 107
ahan 100
aijyata 86
ajahatsvārthā vṛtti 25
akṛtrima 26, 114
akṣarasamāmnāya 126
alpaprāṇatā 14
alvidhi 82-84, 105
amubhyām 69
amum 69, 70
aṆ 123, 125
ānaḍuham carma 16
analvidhau 81, 82, 91
ānantarya 119, 120
anekāl 74, 75, 81-82
aṅga (7), (15), 28, 82, 112, 116
aṅgasya 111
aṅgādhikāra 111
anitya 50
anta 27
antaraṅga 89, 90
antaraṅga-bahiraṅga 89
antaraṅgatva 98
antaratama 70
antare 45
āntarya 68, 69
antodātta 112
anubandha 28, 31, 50, 80, 81, 125
anuccāraṇam 99
anunāsika 12
anupalabdhi 99
anuṣṭhubh 1
anuvṛtti (5), 4, 11, 60
anvartha 35
anvartha-saṁjñā 17, 34, 38, 46, 114
aparavidham 85
apaśabda (8)
apavāda 59
aprāpta 53
aprāptavibhāṣā 52, 53, 54
apratyādeśaṭitkinmitaḥ 124
araṇiṣam 10
ārdhadhātuka 5
artha 68

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arthavat śabdaḥ 114
āryāvarta (12)
asahārtha 132
asaṃdeha 1
as-anta 105
as-antatva 106
asattva 19
asiddha 18, 85, 86, 88, 89
asiddhakāṇḍa (7)
asiddhatva 18, 89, 98
āsīna 77
asme 18
aśravaṇam 99
āśraya 87
aṣṭādhyāyī 60, 123
aṣṭakaṃ pāṇinīyam (9)
āsya 14
atantra 124
atideśasūtra 26, 27, 81, 94
atiri 62, 63
atiśāyana 28
āṭiṭat 95, 96
atrejatus 90
atṛnet 104
aupadeśika 11, 28, 31, 48, 115, 117
avayavāvayavībhāva 59
avibhaktiko nirdeśaḥ 68
avyaya 46, 65
avyayībhāva 49
ayoga 64
āyur ghṛtam 98
babdhām 93
bahiraṅga 89
bahudhā 29
bahukṛtvas 29
bahulaṁ chandasi (10)
bahuvrīhi 38, 40
bāhyaprayatna 13
bhāṣā (1), (10), (12)
bhavati 54, 119
bhavati na bhavati 54
bhāvalakṣaṇa 49
bhāvasādhana 91–93
bhāvin 56
bhāvinī saṃjña 56, 102
bhavitā 116
bhettṛ 116
bhīṣayate 58
bhugna 88
bhūta 56, 80
bodhati 115
brāhmaṇagrāma ānīyatām ity ucyate 62
brāhmaṇakauṇḍiṇyanyāya 60
ca (5), 8, 11, 24, 33, 35, 46, 47, 123
cetā 67
chāndasa 7
chandasi 17
dā 26
dadhi ānaya 66
dadhi śītam 15
dadhitrapuṣam pratyakṣo jvaraḥ (98)
dadhyatra 119
dakṣiṇā ime gāthakāḥ 44
daṇḍāgram 69
daṇḍahastaḥ 15
darbhāṇāṁ sthāne 66
dāyate 26
deśe (11)
devadattīyāḥ 137
dhā 26
dhātu (15)
dhātulopaḥ 5
dhātupāṭha (7), (16), 30
dhātuprātipadika 122
dhātvekādeśa 5
dhūmaketu 122
dhūmayanta iva śliṣṭaḥ 44
diksamāsa 36
dīyate 26
dṛṣṭānuvidhi (10)
dṛṣṭānuvidhitvāc ca cchāndasaḥ 9
dṛṣṭe 48
dudyūṣati 87
dvandva 2, 40
dvija (10)
dvīpa 120
dviṣṭas 102, 109
dvitīyaḥ prayogaḥ 118

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dvivacana 28
dyauḥ 83
edhate 113
edhete 113
ekāc 19
ekādeśa 112
ekāl 73, 75, 77, 80, 82
eṇī pacanīya 142
eṣe 48
eva 95
gaṇa 34
gaṇapāṭha (7), (16), 30, 34, 44, 50
gaṇaśaḥ 29
gaṇasūtra 43
gargaḥ 112
gargās 109
gaurī 23
gha 28
ghoṣa 69
ghoṣavat 14
ghu 26
gohitam 103
grāhakaḥ 124, 132
grahaṇakaśāstra 127
grahaṇāṅgrahaṇe grahaṇābhāvaḥ 126
gṛhītam 57
guṇa 3, 68, 69
gurū adhyāpayataḥ 17
gurukula (13)
haltva 83
hāritakātāḥ 139
he trapo iti 21
itaretaradvandva 4
itaretarāśraya 127
itas 81, 124
iti 52, 118
īṣadvivṛta 16
jaghnatuḥ 95
jaghnuḥ 95
jahatsvārthā vṛtti 25
jaihvākātāḥ 139
jātyekavacana 60, 61, 113
jīvatāt 76
jñāpaka 46
juhutas 103, 109, 110
kāla 126
kaṇṭhya 70
kanye āgate 17
kāraka (7), 19
kārake (15)
karaṇa 14
karman 92
karmapravacanīya 19
karmasādhana 91, 98
kāryam 119
kāryaṁ bhavati 119
kāryaviparināma 66
KasUN 49
kāsyādigaṇa 137
katara-katama 41
kati 33
katipaya 42
kātya 139
khatvābhiḥ 129
khilapāṭha 30
kirati 71
knu 116
kratve dakṣāya 48
kṛti 83
kṛtrima 114
kṛtrimā saṁjñā 26
kumārī śete 16, 127
kumbhakāra 48, 100
kuṇḍāni 80
kuṇḍāni tiṣṭhanti 51
kuṇin 142
kurute 115
KviP 100, 107
laghūpadha 10
laukika 52, 81, 85
laukika-vyavahāra 29
lavaṇaṁkāraṁ bhuṅkte 48
lavita 58
liṅga 129
loka (13)
lokitādigaṇa 139
loluva 6
lopa 99, 106

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luk 24, 32, 99, 101,
lulava 95
lulāva 95
Lup 101, 110, 111
LyaP 82
mahāprāṇa 15, 69, 78
mahāprāṇatā 14
mahatī saṁjñā 17, 35
makatpitṛka 38
maṇḍūkapluti 141, 143
maṅgala 1, 141
mantra (10)
marīmṛja 6, 7
māsapūrvāya 39
mātāpitarau 76
me 18
mīmāṁsā 66
Mit 61
mleccha (8)
mukhanāsikā 13
mūrdhanya 70
na 54, 94
nāda 14
nadvalodakaṁ pādarogaḥ 98
ṆamUL 48
napuṁsaka 51
na vā 54
na vibhāṣā 39
nema 41, 42
ṆiC 97
nimitta 87, 88, 90, 96
nimittasaptamī 8, 21
nināya 95, 97
nipāta 19, 20, 45, 46
nipātana 35, 63
nirdhāraṇaṣaṣṭhi 61, 113
niṣṭhā 33, 34
ṇiti 110
nityatva 66, 98
nivṛtti (5)
niyama 67, 106
niyamārtham 128
niyamarūpatā 133
niyatakāla 95
odanaṁ pacati 120
odanapāṇinīyaḥ 138, 139
pacatyodanam 120
padagrahaṇa 106
padapāṭha 19, 21, 22, 23
padbhyām 69
pakva 86
pakṣas 95
pañca 32, 111
pañcagoṇiḥ 73
pāñcālaḥ 101
pāṇinisūtra (5)
pāṇinīya 138
papatuḥ 95
papus 95, 96
para 77, 78
parama aiśvarya 129
para saptamī 8, 21
paribhāṣā (5), (7), (8), 3, 4, 54, 57, 59, 67, 72, 74, 76, 79, 81, 94, 103
paspaśāhnika (8)
paṭvyā 88
payāṁsi 61
piba 116
pibati 115
pluta 130
popuva 6
prabhutaḥ svaḥ 44
prabhṛti (7)
prācya 141
prāgdīvyatīya 142
pragṛhya 17, 19, 23
prakriyā 59
prātiśākhya (8)
prakṛ-t-ya 82
pramāṇa 68
prāpaka 128
prāpta 53
prāptāprāptavibhāṣā 53
prāptavibhāṣā 52–54
prāptavikalpa 41
prasajyapratiṣedha 47
prasakta 99
prasaṅga 65, 66

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prathama 42
prātipadika (15), 19, 112, 114, 135
prātipadikapāṭha 30
pratiṣedha 52
pratiṣedhavidhānasāmarthyāt 5
pratyāhāra (6), (7), 1, 3, 4, 15, 48, 51, 55
pratyakṣa 83
pratyaya (15), 105
pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas 46
pratyayanipātāgamādeśaḥ 122
prayatna 15, 81
priyaṣaṣaḥ 31
pṛthagbhāva 132
punarvacana 50
purā jatṛbhya ātṛdaḥ 49
purā krūrasya visṛpo virapśin 49
purā sūryasyodetor ādheyaḥ 49
purā vatsānām apākartoḥ 49
pūrva 84
pūrvamātra 85
pūrvapada 25
pūrvaparāṇām 40
pūrvasya 92, 97
pūrvavidhau 91, 92
pūrvottara 36
pūryate 72
puṣyas 110
rājabhis 85
rājapuruṣaḥ 99
rāmābhyām 99
ṛc (10)
Ṛgveda 21
roravīti 7
rūpātideśa 95
śabda 122
sābhāsamnayana 137
sadṛśam triṣu liṅgeṣu 46
saha 131
śaiṣika 142
śālīya 137
samāhāradvandva 2
sāman (10)
sāmānya 83
sāmānyātideśe viśeṣaṇātideśaḥ 83
sāmānyavācin 118
sāmarthya 8, 11, 18, 41, 67, 84, 99
samāsa 40
sambandhiśabda 132
sambuddhi 21
saṁhitāpāṭha 19
samīpa 120
saṁjñā 1, 59
saṁjñāsūtra 1, 34
saṁjñin 1
saṁkhyā 29, 33
saṁkīrṇa 30
saṃpannaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 48
saṁprasāraṇa 2, 53
saṁskṛta (10), (13), (15)
saṁvāra 14
saṁyoga 11, 12
sandhi (7)
ŚaP 102
sapādasaptādhyāyī 1, 18, 86
sarati 72
śarāvatī 141
sārvadhātuka 108
sarvanāman 35, 38, 40, 118
sarvanāmasthāna 50
śāstravākyāni 30
savarṇa 15, 69
sāvarṇya 15
siddha 85, 86
siddhatva 98
śi-śviy-atus 53
śi-śviy-us 53
śiṣṭas (1), (9), (12), (13), (14), (15)
ślu 101
soma 65
somasut 100
somasya sthāne 65
spṛṣṭa 15
sthāna 15, 67, 68
sthāne 55, 59, 63–67, 72, 74, 76, 79
sthāneyogā 63
sthānin 4, 15, 74, 76, 81
sthānivat 84, 97
sthānivadbhāva 26, 81, 84, 85, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 104–106, 108

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sthānyādeśabhāva 59, 82
stotā 67
strīpratyaya (7)
sudṛśad 105
sulekhaḥ paṭaḥ 134
śu-śāv-a 53
sūtrapāṭha (7), (8)
svàduuṁkāraàṁ bhuṅkte 48
svarādi 46, 50
svarita 20
śvāsa 14
ubhaya 42
ubhayatra vibhāṣā 52–54
udātta 27
udaḥ sthāstambhoḥ pūrvasya 77, 121
ud-a-sthāt 121
uddeśa 31
uddeśya 33, 78, 79
udetoḥ 49
udīcya 141
upadeśa 12, 13, 29, 30, 31, 48, 81, 114, 123, 134–136
upadhā 117
upādhyāyasya sthāne 65
upagu 62, 63
ūṣman 16
uṣṭragrīva 111
utāho 20
utpatti 66
utsarga 59
utsargalakṣaṇabhāva 85
utsargalakṣaṇapratiṣedha 86
utsargāpavādatva 98
uttara 77
uttarakuravaḥ 44
uttarapada 25
uttarapadalopisamāsa 36, 139
utthāna 77, 78
utthita 15
vacanārtha 18
vāggharih 69
vaipāśo matsyaḥ 15
vakṣe 48
vakṣe rāyaḥ 48
vākya 56
vākyaparisamāpti 126, 127
vāpyaśvas 24
vareyalopa 91
varṇa 56, 128
varṇalakṣaṇa 103
varṇavināśa 99
vat 26, 81
vāyvoḥ 88, 90
vibhajya-vibhaktavya 28
vibhaktivipariṇāma 23, 44, 78, 123, 128, 130
vibhāṣā (10), 37, 52, 54
vibhāṣārtham 21
vidhāna 91
vidhānam 92
vidheya 1, 33, 78, 79
vidhi 85, 91, 92
vidhisūtra 70
vidhīyate 92
vidhyartham 128
vigraha 14
vikalpa 52, 53, 54
vikaraṇa (15)
vimaladyu 56
vināśa 66
viruṇaddhi 61
viṣayasaptamī 36, 37, 39
viśeṣa 83
viśeṣya-viśeṣana 34
vivakṣā (15)
vivāra-saṁvāra 14
vivṛta 15, 16

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vṛddha (11), 137–140
vṛddhi 1
vyākaraṇa (6)
vyapadeśivadbhāva 137
vyapadeśivad ekasmin 27
vyavasthita-vibhāṣā 142
vyutpattipakṣa 115
yajus (10)
yaṇādeśa 88, 89
yantra (15)
yatas 47
yatra 47
yena nāvyavadhānaṁ
tena vyavahite'pi
vacanaprāmāṇyāt (8)
yoga 64
yogavibhāga 23
yukta 64
yuṣme 18

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INDEX OF ENGLISH TERMS

abbreviative designation (7)
accented text (6)
accentuation 59
algorithm (15)
antaraṅga–bahiraṅga relation 60
aryan community (13)
associative digression 36, 41, 42, 70, 72
Aṣṭādhyāyī 43
attested usage 5
augment (15)
augmentation 59
augments 58, 59, 60, 61, 124, 125
blocking of an operation 90
boundary 8, 74
boundary marker 35
buddhism (9)
case-ending 82
chandas 9
character of Aṣṭādhyāyī (6)
conflict procedure 59, 87
conflict solving procedure (5), 98
comprehensive designation 1
continuous recitation 123
correlative terms 132
corrupt speech (8)
defence of Paṇini's procedure 102
deletion 59, 101
deletion rules 87
deviant speech (10)
devices to counter the
effect of the siddha-principle 98
domains of rule 75
dravidian substratum (14)
emphatic statement 50
ethnic name (10)
exceptions and counter-exceptions (5)
exception to the siddha-principle 89
final 59
finished words 82
finite verb-ending 82
Gārgya (8)
gender and number 124
general property 8, 82, 83
general rule 59
generative grammar (15)
genitive 59, 79, 120
genitive case 74
genitive case-ending 64, 66, 73
genitive meaning 65
genitives 119
geographical distribution (12)
grammar 131
grammatical tradition 108
guṇa vṛddih operation 71
guṇa-replacement 4
historical layers (5)
homogeneity 15
immediately following 77
immediately preceding 85
immediate sequence of
three speech elements 84
impersonal action 91
incorrect sanskrit (8)
indeclinables 82
initial 59
inference 73
interpretation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī 59
interpretative principles 60
intervention 8
jñāpaka procedure 60
kāraka section (7)
kṛt-derivatives 47
kṛt-suffixes 82
learned brahmins (9)
lengthy designation 35
linguistic expression 13
linguistic section 13
locative 79
locative conditions 136

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logical order 75
luk–deletion 24, 32
luk–elision 99
lup–deletion 111
lyap 82
meaning-conditions 13, 44
meaning-level 64
metalinguistic elements 134
metalinguistic item 121
multi–purpose particle (5)
nasal consonants 12
nasalised semivowels 12
nasalised vowels 12, 13
native tongue (13)
negation 54
negative aspects of sthānivadbhāva 90
nominal base (15)
non–ritual purposes (5)
non–taddhita rules (11)
non–technical meaning condition 44
non–transference of special properties 83
non–transparent words (8)
notion of styles of language 55
numerals 32
one–way conflict 87, 88, 89, 96–98
onslaught of the Prakrits (9)
operational techniques 59
operation based on the sthānin 89
option 52, 54
ordering principle 89
ordinary language genitive 65
organisation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī 57
original 74
original substitute relation 59
over application 18
Pāṇini's metalanguage 122
Pāṇini's order of words 11
Pāṇini's practice 71, 131
Pāṇini's sūtra-language 2
Pāṇinisūtra 31
part–whole relation 51, 54
periphrastic future 10
permanence 66
permissive aspect 88
permissive aspect of asiddhatva 85
phonological representation (15)
place of articulation 67
positive aspect 89, 93
prakritised Sanskrit (8)
pratyāhāra 15
pratyakṣa 'direct' 83
predicate 1
pre–Pāṇinian sources 114
pre–Pāṇini technical terms 51
prescriptive grammar (15)
pre–suffixal stems (15), 82
principle of organisation 59
principles of siddha and asiddha 86, 97
prohibition 37, 54
prohibitive aspect 88
prohibitive aspect of asiddhatva 85
properties belonging to the sthānin 106
redactor (10)
re-definition and the simplification (5)
redundancy 31
restatement 40
restriction 67
rule of transference 94
samāsa (7)
samāsa section 62
saṁhitāpāṭha of Aṣṭādhyāyī 67
saṁjñā (7)
sandhi 20
Sanskrit 55
Sanskrit grammatical tradition 97
Sanskrit phonetics 13
savarṇa quality of a speech-sound 68
section heading (6), 67, 73
semantic definition 45
sense of object 91
sense of the past 65
sentence definition (15)
siddha principle 86–88, 90, 96, 107, 109, 110, 112
single letter augment 125

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Śivasūtras 123, 126, 128
special properties 83
special rule 59
spoken language (13), 55
status symbol (13)
sthānin–ādeśa context 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 81
structure of Pāṇinian vidhisūtras 78
sub–gaṇas 34
substitute 74
substitution 59, 81
suffix (15), 58
suffixation 59
surgery in the body of the rules of Aṣṭādhyāyī 90
sūtra language 35
syntactic relationships (15)
taddhita rules (11)
taddhita section 4, 9, 139
taddhita suffixes 82, 102
tag–letter 1, 57, 80
technical terms 4
text of Aṣṭādhyāyī 28, 60, 62
three types of vibhāṣā 52
topic (uddeśya) 1
transference of properties to lopa 106
transference of the (original) forms 95
transference of the sandhi rules 90
treatment like the original 84
tripādi rules 86
tripādi section 88, 90
two types of ādeśa 83
two types of technical names 114
two-way-conflict 98
uṇādisūtra (8)
utsarga–apavāda relation 60, 75, 81
utsarga ' general rule ' 75
vākya (15)
Vedas 24
Vedic usage 43
verbal base (15)
vidhi-rule 78
vowel quantity 68
vṛtti on the Pāṇini sūtras 45
weaver 56
word-boundary 98
word-economy 94
word-formation (11)
word-internally 98
word level 64
words 64
words and usage (9)
yaṇādeśa is asiddha 90
zero element 90

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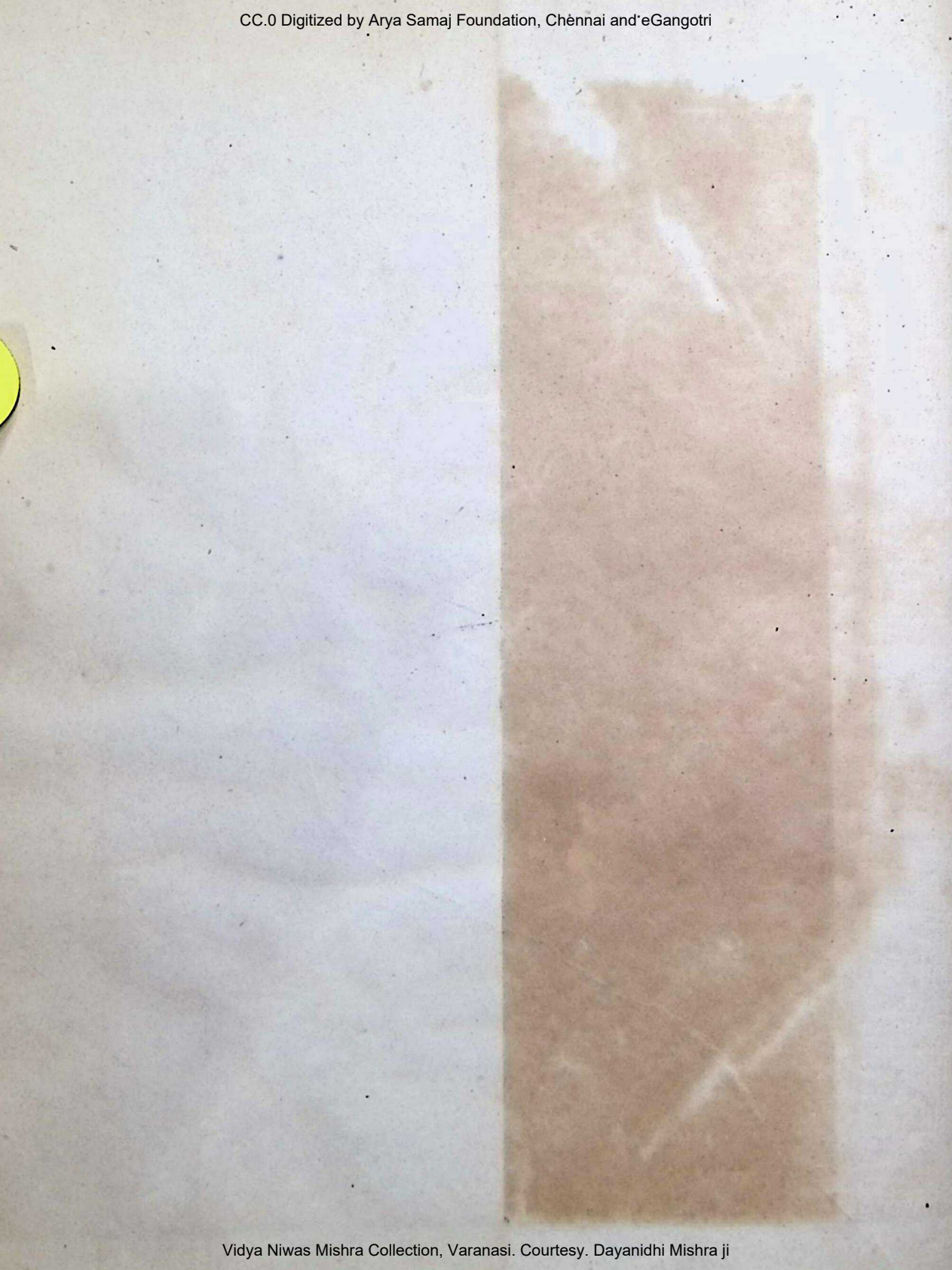

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